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BUILDING AN IDENTITY:

TWO NOBLEWOMEN IN ENGLAND 1566-1666

a thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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As a school girl, I was enthralled by art history books which explained in simple terms that 'this style' happened and then 'this other style' happened. At that time I had no critical apparatus to question these statements. In my middle age, much to my surprise, tuition on the subject was provided by The Open University. I would like to thank the staff of The Open University for their life-enhancing insights into the processes of history and art history, and much else. In particular, I wish to thank my supervisors, Catherine E King of The Open University and Dr Nigel Llewellyn of Sussex University, for their patient direction of the various stages of the study. I am very grateful to Dr Anne Laurence of The Open University for her guidance along the unexpectedly complex path of thesis writing. I am much indebted to Dr R T Spence for his knowledge of the people and places connected with the Clifford family. I am very grateful to Mr Charles Rudd for his translations of Greek and Latin epitaphs.

over

To Anne Barnighan

EX12

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING AN IDENTITY is a broad based study of the monuments which two female patrons built from 1566 to 1666. It probes the impulse to commemorate, considers why memorials took the form that they did, and takes account of the social conventions which provided a framework for the behaviour of these patrons. Their reasons for commemoration provided a key to the comprehension of funeral monuments, whose forms and epitaphs went beyond remembering the worthy dead with a memorial, to a quite specific view of the deceased, which served these patrons' purposes of promoting their own identities in eternal stone in the public spaces of churches. The patronage of several monuments by Elizabeth Cooke, annotated with copious epitaphs, offered a repeated opportunity to observe the thinking behind her commemoration of members of her family. Visual evidence was greatly extended by substantial documentation of her career. Repeated expenditure on monuments by this woman called for an external perspective on her behaviour by investigation of the purposes of another patron. This was provided by Anne Clifford, who set up an even longer series of monuments, extending her commemoration from family to lower ranking people who were significant in sustaining her perception of her own identity. Because both patrons of multiple monuments were women, and so far as it is now possible to establish, these were the only female patrons of long series of memorials in England at this period, the study investigated gender status to find out how their patronage fell within accepted female practice and how they extended the domestic roles assigned to high ranking Englishwomen. This study of their lives and commissions showed these women to be assuming head of family functions, through which they claimed high rank for themselves, which was only marginally affected by their consciousness of inferior female gender.

PREFACE EXPLAINING EDITORIAL MATTERS

Quotations retain the spelling of the original document except when a modern calendar of manuscripts was the source.

Unless the contrary is indicated, dates assume the year to begin on 1 January.

Numbers in the text referring to notes and sources are given superscript or subscript, whichever most suits their visibility. Numbers have been entered immediately against the idea referenced when this does not coincide with the end of the sentence.

Notes and references are placed at the end of Chapter eleven, after the Conclusions.

Inscriptions have been taken directly from the monuments and are given exactly, without expansion of contractions, as being more visually authentic. Translations of Latin and Greek are from reliable printed sources or are the work of Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel University.

The imperial measure of dimensions of monuments is retained because it shows the logic of the builders' proportions as experienced by them.

Photographs are copyright author except for numbers 6, 11, 14, 20, 28, 30, 31, 32, 37.

Material found too late to be included in Notes and References includes:-

Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections,
Ed. Louise Campbell and Francis Steer, (London, 1988):

Russell, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Baron Russell,
baptism of, 1575, Vincent 151, pp.150-4;
Russell, Elizabeth, widow of John, Baron Russell,
funeral of, Vincent, 151, p.325.

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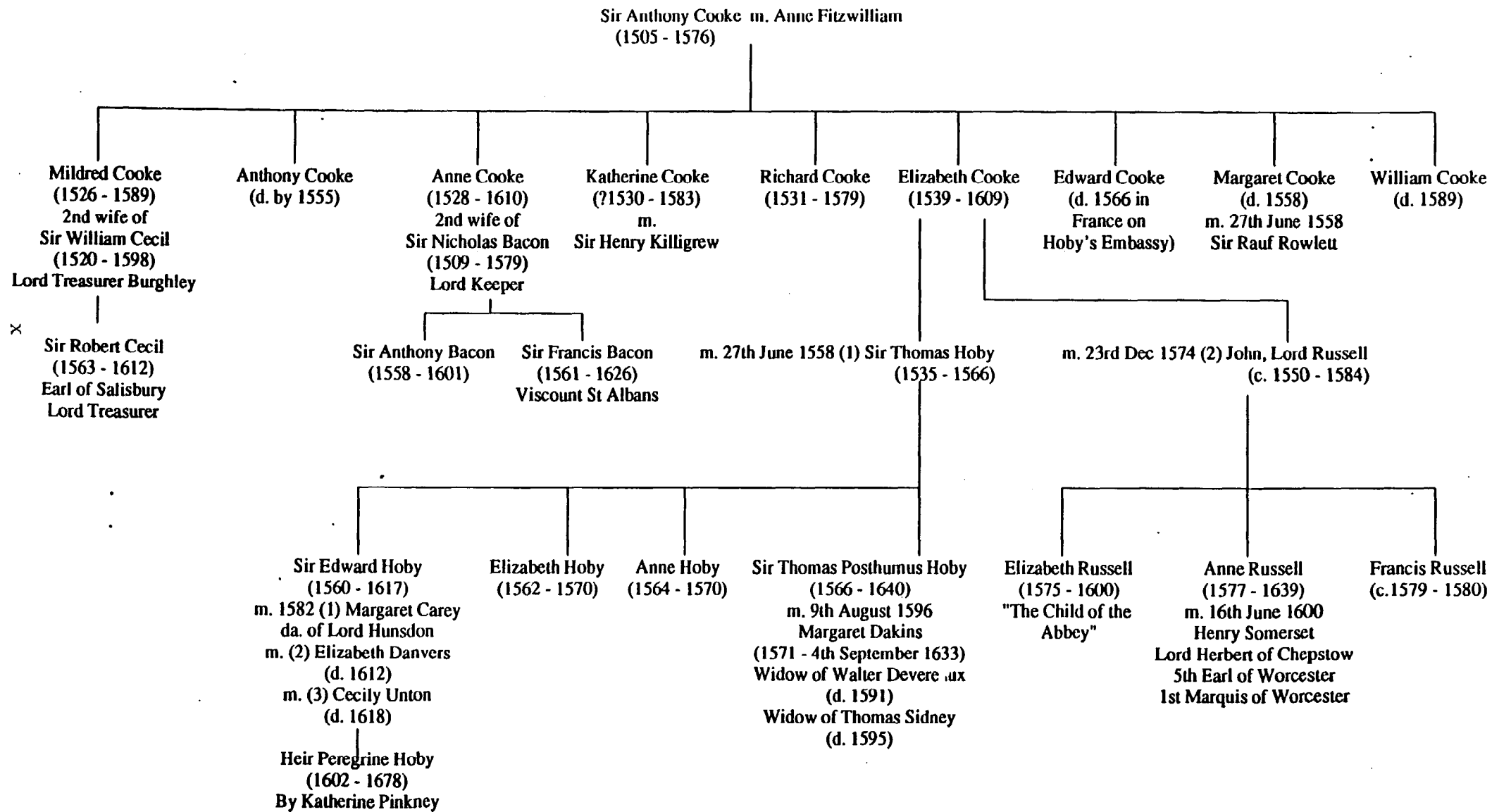
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>In full</u>
Add.	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies'	Rowena E. Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies: The Problem of Late Medieval Dowagers', <u>Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History</u> , Ed. A.J. Pollard, (Gloucester, 1984)
Aubrey, <u>Brief Lives</u>	John Aubrey, <u>Brief Lives 1626-1697</u> , Ed. Oliver L. Dick, (3rd ed., London, 1960)
BL.	British Library, London
C.S.P.Dom.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
C.S.P.For.	Calendar of State Papers Foreign
Cioni, <u>Women and Law</u>	Maria L. Cioni, <u>Women and Law in Elizabethan England</u> , (London, 1985)
Colvin, <u>The King's Works</u>	H.M. Colvin, Ed. <u>The History of the King's Works</u> , (III, London, 1975)
Cust, 'Foreign Artists'	Lionel Cust, 'Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion Working in England', <u>Walpole Society</u> , VII, (1905)
<u>Diary of Lady Anne Clifford</u>	<u>The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford</u> Ed. V. Sackville-West, (London, 1923)
<u>Diary of Lady Hoby</u>	<u>Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605</u> , Ed. Dorothy M. Meads, (London, 1930)
Ed.	Editor
ed.	edition
Esdaile, 'Berkshire Churches'	Mrs Arundel Esdaile, 'English Sculpture in some Berkshire Churches', <u>Berkshire Archaeological Journal</u> , XVI, (1942)
Gilson, <u>Lives</u>	J.P. Gilson, <u>The Lives of Lady Anne</u>

- Clifford and of her Parents,
Roxburghe Club, (London, 1916)
- Girouard,
'Alien Craftsmen' Mark Girouard, 'Some Alien Craftsmen
in sixteenth and seventeenth century
England', Proceedings of the
Huguenot Society of London, XX,
(1965)
- Hasler,
House of Commons P.W. Hasler, Ed. The History of
Parliament, The House of Commons
1558-1603, (London, 1981)
- Henderson and McManus Katherine U. Henderson and Barbara,
Half Humankind F. McManus, Half Humankind,
1540-1640, (London, 1985)
- H.M.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission
- Holmes, Proud Northern Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady,
Lady Lady Anne Clifford 1590-1676,
(London, 1975)
- Houlbrooke, The English Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English
Family Family 1450-1700, (London, 1984)
- Howell, Women and Martha C. Howell, Women, Production
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Cities, (London, 1986)
- Jones,
'Nets and Bridles' Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Nets and
Bridles: early modern conduct books
and sixteenth-century women's
lyrics', The Ideology of Conduct:
Essays on Literature and the History
of Sexuality, Ed. Nancy Armstrong
and Leonard Tennenhouse, (London,
1987)
- LLoyd, State-Worthies David Lloyd, State-Worthies or The
Statesmen and Favourites of England
from the Reformation, Vol.1,
(London, 1766)
- McIntosh, 'The Cooke Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke
Family' Family of Gidea Hall, Essex
1460-1661', (Harvard University Ph.D.
thesis 1967)
- Mann,
'English Monuments' J.G. Mann, 'English Church
Monuments, 1536-1625', Walpole
Society, XXI, (1933).

MS(S).	Manuscript(s)
Mercer, <u>English Art</u>	Eric Mercer, 'Funeral Monuments and Sculpture', Chapter VI, <u>English Art 1553-1625</u> , (Oxford, 1962)
Notestein, <u>Four Worthies</u>	Wallace Notestein, <u>Four Worthies</u> , (London, 1956)
Pevsner, <u>Berkshire</u> <u>Buckinghamshire</u> <u>Cumberland & Westmorland</u> <u>London I</u> <u>W Riding Yorkshire</u>	Nikolaus Pevsner, <u>The Buildings of England:</u> <u>Berkshire</u> , (Harmondsworth, 1966) <u>Buckinghamshire</u> , (1960) <u>Cumberland and Westmorland</u> , (1967) <u>London I</u> , (1973) <u>West Riding of Yorkshire</u> , (1967)
Phillips, <u>The Sackville Family</u>	Charles J. Phillips, <u>The History of the Sackville Family</u> , 2 vols. (I, London, 1930)
Scharf, <u>Russell Monuments</u>	George Scharf, <u>A descriptive and historical Account of the Russell Monuments at Chenies, with notices of other family monuments</u> , (London, 1892)
Sharpe, <u>Early Modern England</u>	J.A. Sharpe, <u>Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760</u> , (London, 1987)
Sig.	Signature
S'Jacob, <u>Idealism</u>	Henriette S'Jacob, <u>Idealism and Realism: a study in sepulchral symbolism</u> , (Leiden, 1954)
Spence, 'A Reappraisal'	R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676): A Reappraisal', <u>Northern History</u> , Vol.XV, (1979)
Stone, <u>The English Revolution</u>	Lawrence Stone, <u>The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642</u> , (London, 1972)
Stone, <u>Crisis</u>	Lawrence Stone, <u>The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641</u> , (Oxford, reprinted 1966)
Stone, <u>Family and Fortune</u>	<u>Family and Fortune</u> , (Oxford, 1973)

<u>Stone, Family, Sex and Marriage</u>	<u>The Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500-1800</u> , (Harmondsworth, revised 1979)
<u>Stone, An Open Elite?</u>	Lawrence Stone and J.C.F. Stone, <u>An Open Elite? England 1540-1880</u> , (Oxford, 1984)
<u>The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby</u>	'A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of me Thomas Hoby Kt 1547-1564', Ed. Edgar Powell, (<u>Camden Miscellany</u> , X, London, 1902)
<u>Trapp and Herbruggen, Sir Thomas More</u>	J.B. Trapp and H.S. Herbruggen, <u>"The King's Good Servant" Sir Thomas More</u> Catalogue for Exhibition, National Portrait Gallery, (London, 1977)
Vol.	Volume
<u>Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments</u>	John Weever, <u>Ancient Funerall Monuments within the united monarchie of Gt. Britain</u> , (London, 1631)
<u>Whinney, Sculpture</u>	Margaret Whinney, <u>Sculpture in Britain: 1530-1830</u> , (Harmondsworth, 1964)
<u>Whitaker, History of Craven</u>	T.D. Whitaker, <u>The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven</u> , (1805), (3rd ed. Ed. A.W. Morant, London, 1878)
White, 'Stuart Renaissance'	Adam White, 'Classical Learning and the Early Stuart Renaissance', <u>Journal of the Church Monuments Society</u> , I, Part I, (1985)
<u>Wiffen, House of Russell</u>	Jeremiah H. Wiffen, <u>Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell</u> 2 vols. (I, London, 1833)
<u>Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford</u>	George C. Williamson, <u>Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery 1590-1676, Her Life, Letters and Work</u> , (2nd ed. Kendal, 1922)
<u>Wrightson, English Society</u>	Keith Wrightson, <u>English Society 1580-1680</u> , (London, 1986)
<u>Youngs, Social History</u>	Joyce Youngs, <u>Social History of Britain: Sixteenth-Century England</u> , (Harmondsworth, 1984)



George Clifford, m. Lady Margaret Russell
(1558 - 1605) (1560 - 1616)
3rd Earl of Cumberland Daughter of Francis,
2nd Earl of Bedford (d.1585)

Francis Clifford;
(1559 - 1641)
4th Earl of Cumberland
m.1589 Grizell Hughes
Widow of Lord Abergavenny

IX Francis, Lord Clifford
(1584 - 1588)

Robert, Lord Clifford
(1585 - 1591)

Lady Anne Clifford
(1590 - 1676)
m. 25th Feb 1609
(1) Richard Sackville
Lord Buckhurst
3rd Earl of Dorset
(1589 - 1624)

m. (2) Philip Herbert,
4th Earl of Pembroke and
1st Earl of Montgomery
(1585 - 23rd Jan 1650)

Henry, Lord Clifford
5th Earl of Cumberland
(1592 - 1643)
m. 25th July 1610
Lady Frances Cecil
da. of Sir Robert Cecil
Earl of Salisbury

Lady Margaret Sackville
(2nd July 1614 - 1676)
m. John Tufton
2nd Earl of Thanet

Thomas, Lord Buckhurst
(2nd Feb 1618 - Aug 1618)

Son c. 1620

Son c. 1621

Lady Isabella Sackville
(6th Oct 1622 - 14th Oct 1661)
m. James, Lord Compton
3rd Earl of Northampton

Son c. 1631

Son c. 1633

Lady Elizabeth Clifford
Countess of Burlington and Cork
(18th September 1613 - ?)
Earldom extinct

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4. Head of Sir Philip Hoby, All Saints, Bisham, Berkshire.
5. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, erected 1563, St.Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.
6. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, St.John Baptist, Erith, Bexley, Greater London.
7. Grave slab of Elizabeth and Anne Hoby, All Saints, Bisham, Berkshire.
8. John, Lord Russell, St.Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.
9. Effigy of John, Lord Russell, St.Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.
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23. Frances Bouchier, Bedford Chapel, St. Michael, Chenies, Buckinghamshire.
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25. Tomb chest of Lady Margaret Clifford (erected 1617) showing symbols of mortality, St. Lawrence's Appleby, Cumbria.
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27. Samuel Daniel, St. George's Beckington, Somerset.
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32. Three faces of the dials on the Countess's Pillar, Brougham, Cumbria.
33. George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, Holy Trinity, Skipton, Yorkshire.
34. Heraldry on hidden side of monument to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, Holy Trinity, Skipton, Yorkshire.
35. Lady Anne Clifford, Dowager Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, St. Lawrence's Appleby, Cumbria.
36. Heraldry on monument to Lady Anne Clifford, Dowager Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, St. Lawrence's, Appleby, Cumbria.
37. Grave slab for Gabriel Vincent, St. Michael's, Brough, Cumbria.

BUILDING AN IDENTITY: TWO NOBLEWOMEN IN ENGLAND 1566-1666

CHAPTER 1 THEIR POSITION IN SOCIETY

1.1 Introduction

Two women set up a series of architectural monuments between 1566 and 1666. This span of time of a century applies to the dates of erection of their monuments, ignoring period definitions of the reigns of monarchs and major political events in England. As used, these dates were significant only to the two patrons and to their families. The lives of the two women extended over a period from 1539 to 1676, from within the reign of Henry VIII to the latter part of the reign of Charles II.

Few women could command the financial resources needed to erect commemorative monuments. Exceptions were women in the unique position of Queen Elizabeth and high ranking widows. The reluctant executrix of her husband's will ¹, Elizabeth Charlton, fourth Countess of Rutland, commissioned two similar monuments in 1588 for her husband and his brother the third Earl as a job lot erected in 1591. ² As well as the forbidding cost of these complex assemblies of coloured stones and sculptured figures, social decorum, like the sumptuary laws protecting noble prerogative to rich fabrics, ³ decreed that commemoration by these monuments be restricted to members of the nobility. Within the limited range of people who were financially and

socially qualified to do so in this period, it was not unusual for women to commission monuments during all but the final years of the Civil War. Many widows honoured their husbands with a tomb in the local church.

It is one thing to find quite a large number of noble widows raising monuments to their husbands. It is quite another to find two women who set up a multiplicity of commemorative monuments. So far as can now be ascertained, these were the only women of their times to commission several works over many years. This study aims to find what it was in the lives of these women which determined expenditure on expensive commemorative objects rather than, say, comparable outlay on housebuilding, laying out gardens, or indeed, gadding. It investigates legal and financial aspects of their patronage and the social incentives for commemoration. Beyond investigation of the astonishing willingness and ability of these women to build repeatedly, lay considerations of why they chose the sculptor-masons whom they commissioned, and how their wishes were translated into stone; how much the image of the monuments as implemented was owed to the patrons' instructions and how much was due to the vision of the workshop master and to the tradition within which he worked. The study is thus broad based, spanning the concerns of social history and art history. Current sociological and historical interest in aspects of society concerning families and especially the role of women make this study of the position, education and

ambitions of women such as these high-born subjects, rich with significance. As well as considering the way these two women used eternal stone to remind posterity of their dignity, the study is concerned to show how they used passing ceremonial occasions for similar ends, for an historical investigation of their 'performances' in masques, progresses, lyings in, and funerals, as well as the extant commemorative permanent art.

These two women were chosen because sufficient documentary evidence on their lives existed to make them worthwhile subjects of study. There were letters from one and letters and diaries from the other with which to test assumptions on their roles in society, to which were added commentaries on their actions by other people. To the written source material was added the great mass of visual evidence about their own perceptions of their lives provided by the monuments.

1.2 The two women

The facts that these women wrote letters, employed officers to write for them and built stone monuments, indicated their high rank in society. Although both women acted with the self assurance of high social status, they were not born of equal rank in society. Elizabeth Cooke (1539-1609)⁴ was born into a family of landed crown servants within the minor nobility and rose into the major nobility of barons, earls and dukes through her second marriage. She would have risen within

the major nobility to the assured status of Countess of Bedford if her husband had lived a few months longer. Her later activities were related to her efforts to secure such a status for her daughters, whose careers were set from birth on a higher social level, because of their noble paternity. In contrast to Elizabeth Cooke's rise to social eminence, Lady Anne Clifford could hardly have been born into a higher ranking family. Her father belonged to one of the ancient noble families of England, distinguished by vast hereditary possessions in the north. The Cliffords had been barons since 1299 and earls since 1525. Her career was concerned with maintaining that privileged position in society.

Both Cooke and Clifford illustrate the concern of high ranking women to celebrate their achievements and to claim admiration for their deeds as well as deference to their social status. They both attached importance to the preservation of family reputation and status, an attitude found in other patrons of funeral monuments throughout early modern England. They thus shared the principles which caused the late Elizabethan and Jacobean upsurge in commissions for tombs. The same social aggrandising was responsible for the contemporary interest in 'prodigy' houses, structures whose excessive size and decorative skylines, like banners waving, were the wonders of the age and made public claim to the high rank of their owners.

1.3 Rank and status in early modern England

Ranking position within a stratified society was of engrossing interest to the more fortunate members of that society. The prevailing social philosophy was the notion of the great chain of being by which every living creature was allocated a position of relative proximity to God. This concept of society posited an hierarchical structure, of monarch, major nobility, minor nobility, gentry and commons, with each rank owed deference by all lower ranks in the scale. But such an hierarchical ordering of society did not preclude mobility between the ranks. Indeed, a feature of the period was the amount of downward movement of younger sons of the nobility through the imperatives of primogeniture inheritance, and the upward thrust into the formal nobility by men who were the great administrators of the state and merchants and were thus well placed to acquire ex-monastic land. If there were no legal barriers in England to the attainment of higher rank by a landed elite, as there were on the continent ⁵, gradations of rank were publicly marked by formal titles, by the carefully distinguished trappings of rank such as the prescribed richness of apparel, by conspicuous expenditure, such as by the number and kind of servants which might be employed to support high rank. ⁶ This hierarchical ordering of society accorded supreme importance to the concept of kingship. Government by the monarch was deemed to have divine sanction. Queen Elizabeth implicitly, and the early Stuart kings

explicitly, claimed the divine right of monarchs to rule.

Within this hierarchical structure, women were subordinate to men, as creatures lower down the chain of social responsibility, and this view gave society its strong patriarchal character. In theory, and very often in practice, women were subordinate to men of the same rank, but women were not subordinate to men of lower rank than themselves. Genealogical accidents which made women eligible to inherit the Crown demonstrated that the daughters of Henry VIII took precedence over male candidates of lesser claim. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth were accorded positions at the top of the hierarchy after the death of their half-brother, notwithstanding their inferior sex. The attainment of high rank and the recognition of that rank were obsessions of the landed elite. Gender was one of the many fine distinctions of pre-eminence within an acknowledged rank. Women were concerned to excel, not in competition with the men who conferred rank upon them as fathers or husbands, but to uphold the honour of that rank.⁷

English noblewomen as well as men were educated by domestic tutors and by wide reading for their assumed future role in life.⁸ Evidence that women were trained to be fit companions to male courtiers is contained in the English translation of Baldassare Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier, which went through four editions in England within Elizabeth's reign.⁹ The Courtier was

translated in 1552 in Paris.¹⁰ It was written for 'yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, Palaice or Place'.¹¹ The image of women put forward was of their familiarity with Greek and Latin authors and philosophy, allied to grace of person and ease of manner. Women were subordinated to men by the required modesty of their display of skills in conversation, in music making and dancing.¹² The ethos of the high intellectual accomplishments of ladies set out in The Courtier derived from Italian humanists, in evidence at the early sixteenth-century court of Urbino (1504-1508), whose values were broadcast in England by the English humanists, one of whom was Sir Anthony Cooke, father of the first subject of this study. Through her father, Elizabeth received a thorough Renaissance education before she came into contact with the English definition of the courtly ideal in her husband's manuscript translation of Castiglione. She married Thomas Hoby in June 1558, three years before the publication of his manual on courtly manners. This key text to behaviour appropriate for the young elite ran to four further editions in 1565, 1577, 1588 and 1603. In 1605 it was in the library of the fifteen-year-old Lady Anne Clifford, the high ranking second subject of this study. Its function so far as young women were concerned, was to guide them towards proper attitudes for their early forays into fashionable society. The implied necessity for young women to learn what was expected of them by way of informed and amusing conversation, indicates a role for noblewomen beyond their domestic situations,

complementary to that of the male courtiers. Careers at court were available to well-educated women. Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick and a succession of Maids of Honour, including the daughters of Elizabeth Cooke, were in the service of the Queen. Lady Anne Clifford was intended for such a career had Queen Elizabeth not died before Anne was old enough for the office.

CHAPTER 2 THE STATUS OF NOBLEWOMEN

2.1 The disabilities of married women as interpreted by historians

If young Elizabethan noblewomen could prepare themselves for possible careers at court by refining their scholarship and polishing their social accomplishments, this was 'the first serious attack on the medieval belief in women's natural inferiority in intellect and virtue and their physiological imperfection'.¹ A reassessment of the mental capacities of carefully nurtured young women was owed to the Renaissance of classical learning in mid-sixteenth century England, in which all the children of Henry VIII participated. His daughter Elizabeth was famed as a learned woman, and her personal fame as a scholar endured in part because she remained unmarried. The brief personal glory of the young women whose wit sparkled at Elizabeth's court was dimmed when they moved into the next stage of life - marriage. Especially in the highest ranks of society, where no work was required of them, married women became decorative adjuncts to their husbands' rank. Women then concerned themselves with occupations which carried no personal prestige. They became 'more ornamental and idle, more possessions to be displayed'.² So long as they were displayed at court, noblewomen continued to feel flattered, but when they were relegated to their biological role of bearing and rearing children in the

great country houses, noblewomen commonly complained of the solitariness of their existence during their husbands' frequent absences in pursuit of fame and pleasure. Grace, Lady Mildmay, complained of having 'spent the best part of my youth in solitariness'.³ Lady Anne Clifford and her mother were both abandoned for much of their married lives by their husbands who lived extravagantly at court. These highly educated women found solace in their loneliness by working at the embroidery for which the age was famed, and by reading, or being read to by their chaplains and household officials. Isolated on their great estates, many women of the nobilitas major were dependent upon their acquired inner resources for their happiness. It is no wonder that the death of Queen Elizabeth, the coming to London of James's consort, and the coronation of James and Anne were celebrated enthusiastically by noblewomen called out of their retirement to join corporately in the ceremonies with male courtiers.

Lower down the social hierarchy, women were more active. They were supports, if not quite partners, in their husbands' enterprises. In the ranks of the gentry, Elizabeth Cooke was considered remarkable for accompanying the ambassador's train to France early in Queen Elizabeth's reign and her conduct in winding down the embassy when her husband died in 1566 drew an

admiring letter from the Queen. Not many women were able to display efficiency in such a dramatically public situation as the just widowed Elizabeth Cooke. However, this young wife's skills caused no comment in despatches home while her husband was alive and his authority prevailed.

In the next generation, Elizabeth Cooke's daughter-in-law, Lady Margaret Hoby (wife of Sir Thomas Posthumus [sic] Hoby, not the similarly styled wife of Sir Edward Hoby), recorded in her diary kept between 1599 and 1605, the more usual activities for a woman of the gentry ⁴, which complemented her husband's activities. While he concerned himself with the administration of the region and with litigation in support of his dignity, she supervised household tasks, paid the servants, saw to the religious instruction of her household, provided herbal remedies for neighbourhood illness, and paid close attention to the running of their estate. ⁵ The socially helpful activities of the wife supported the husband's authority in the local area.

Social historians are in broad agreement in interpreting the status of married women as being subordinate to their husbands. Keith Wrightson in his survey of English society, wrote:

'To the authors of the conduct books, conjugal relations should be conducted according to a pattern which was both natural and divinely ordained. Its most essential element was the recognition of the supreme authority of the husband'....

'Given these assumptions, it is hardly surprising to find that the qualities conventionally ascribed to a good wife were essentially submissive... There is no doubt that women's alleged inferiority, mental, physical, and moral, was generally accepted by the male moralists of the day.' ⁶

If gentlewomen in England were advised by conduct book moralists to be submissive, this may have been an intended corrective to the facts of their behaviour. An external view was provided by the Venetian Ambassador who wrote in 1555 of their 'handsome presence, fine complexion, and great liberty of action'. Joan Thirsk noted that Englishwomen's 'freedom to... accept invitations without their husbands was a source of surprise to foreigners.' ⁷ This observation suggests a gap between theory and practice.

Wrightson analysed the evidence available to historians for interpretation, and it showed the inherent bias towards the theoretical viewpoint:

'the surviving documentary evidence of marital relationships is sparse and the best of it (in the form of diaries) is biased in several respects: (socially towards the middling and upper ranks of society), ideologically (towards the deeply religious), and by sex (towards men). Nevertheless, the evidence of diaries can be used and filled out sufficiently from other evidence (especially wills) to modify in some degree the stereotype of marital relations. The picture which emerges indicates the private existence of a strong complementary and companionate ethos, side by side

with and often overthrowing, theoretical adherence to the doctrine of male authority and public female subordination'.⁸

To a male historian, 'public female subordination' may seem to be a fair balance with 'private' influence, but it must have militated against any active sense of self to the women living under this ethos and must have discouraged female initiative.

The consensus seems to be that the undoubted legal status of women as subordinate to male authority was not always paramount in determining the reality of human relationships. Women operating within real and individual situations behaved in a manner different from the stereotype role assigned to their sex. The activities of Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Anne Clifford and her mother, the Countess of Cumberland, trace a path which by no means adheres to the pattern book behaviour advocated for women.

2.2 Women's legal situation

High-born, adult, single women were legally free in comparison with married women, but young women were debarred from entering professions as a means to subsistence causing their financial reliance upon parental resources. The consequent submission to parental will meant that few young women could cavil at

their parents' dispositions of them. Young women were taught to honour their parents as the source of moral guidance, direction of their lives, and of the resources to implement instructions. The young Lady Anne Clifford wrote in dutiful terms to her father, although she disapproved of his flamboyant way of life, as her later diaries showed. Legally, single women could inherit, own and dispose of property.⁹ Young women, though nominally independent were, in fact, totally dependent upon their fathers' and mothers' resources to launch them. Young women emerged from tutelage in their fathers' households to marry.

The Earl of Cumberland was shown to adopt a much less dictatorial stance over the marriage of his daughter Anne than the stereotype of paternal disposition, which Shakespeare turned into fun in Midsummer Night's Dream. Shakespeare's character Egeus voiced early seventeenth century attitudes on the disposition of noble daughters: 'As she is mine, I may dispose of her' [Act I Sc.i 1.43]. This is the basic assumption for the scheme of events in the play, written in 1596 and published in 1600. Confirmation of this attitude came from the character of the Duke of Athens:

'To you your father should be as a god:
One that composed your beauties; yea and one
To whom you are but as a form in wax
By him imprinted and within his power
To leave the figure or disfigure it.'
[Act I Sc.i 1.47-52]

The daughter's non-submission to her father and sovereign served the dramatic purpose of turning social convention topsy turvy on midsummer's night magic.

Except for the Queen, spinsters did not have the resources for commemorative enterprises, but then neither had they an independent position worth recording.

When women married, they surrendered any legal right to own property. Maria Cioni described this situation:

'the marriage vows effectively smothered the right she had had as a single woman to own land or to have chattels and made her reliant upon her spouse's good graces for daily maintenance'.¹⁰

This dire legal situation for women could be mitigated by a marriage contract. In a situation where well-educated daughters were regarded as a valuable means of enhancing family status, the family's lawyers would safeguard the bride's future financial well-being. In defining the reality of late sixteenth-century behaviour, Pearl Hogrefe stressed the importance of the marriage contract in providing an independent income for the wife. She wrote:

'A married woman, assumed by law to be under the guardianship of her husband, had practically no property rights unless she circumvented her husband's control by a marriage settlement'.¹¹

Hogrefe was not entirely correct in attributing evasion of the law to the bride. It was the bride's father or

relations who negotiated the settlement with the father of the groom. Letters to influential relatives seeking their support in this activity, provide evidence that the widowed Elizabeth, Lady Russell, negotiated a marriage settlement on behalf of her daughter Elizabeth Russell with the Earl of Worcester and, when both the young people died, she negotiated in 1600 a new contract for a marriage between her younger daughter Anne and the next heir to the earldom of Worcester.¹² Lady Cumberland, when a widow, treated with the Earl of Dorset for an allowance and jointure for the marriage of her daughter, Lady Anne Clifford in 1608.¹³ Negotiation of the marriage contract concerned adjustments to the ratio of elements of 'portion' and 'jointure'. The portion was an agreed commitment on the part of the bride's parents, while the jointure made provision for the hazards of the possible future death of the husband. The father of the bride offered a portion to the father of the proposed groom. This large sum of money, or money plus rents on land, went into the coffers of the groom's father. It was primarily to assure him that the bride was of sufficient social standing to be admitted to his family. The secondary function of the portion was to persuade the bridegroom's father that she brought sufficient wealth into his estate to justify his allocation of an annual sum as jointure, or joint property for the couple, which became

due to her if she survived her husband, whether this happened soon after marriage or many years later. If the husband died soon after the marriage, the groom's father might seek to return the portion to the bride's family rather than pay jointure for the remainder of the bride's life, as did the fourth Earl of Pembroke when his heir Charles died in 1636. He repaid the £25,000 portion rather than give the eighteen year old bride £4,000 a year ¹⁴, which caused the cessation of Pembroke's rebuilding of Wilton House. The ratio of portion to jointure depended upon the relative social standing of the two sets of parents: high rank had to be appeased by lower, through payment made at higher rates. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, inflation caused portions to increase, but the amount of the increase provided additional safeguards through settlements, for women entering marriage. Contracts became increasingly long and complex, sometimes running to hundreds of pages to cover every foreseeable contingency of death in the family.

Also under the terms of the marriage settlement, wives were provided with personal allowances. How much this was and how regularly it was made available to them varied enormously with the distinct and changing fortunes of their husbands. Much depended upon the insistence of wives in securing their personal incomes,

maintenance, and other agreed rights. Two examples help to pursue the investigation of women's control of their personal allowances.

Bess of Hardwick's quarrels with her husband, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, were a public scandal. In 1583 he 'cut off her allowance of £800 a year and intercepted revenues from lands previously made over to Bess's Cavendish sons'.¹⁵ The Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1583, turned her out of Chatsworth, a house which she (and her Cavendish husband) had built from 1552, thus demonstrating the legal power of the husband to take and control what had been his wife's property. Bess might then have been expected to rent a property suitable to house her family until she had appeased her husband. The fact that instead she embarked upon a programme of independent building, culminating in her acquisition of her late brother's lands to build Hardwick New Hall, (alongside Hardwick Hall)¹⁶ showed her resourcefulness in circumventing her husband's authority. Bess pursued her moral rights by application to Queen Elizabeth, the fount of justice, and had the matter settled to her satisfaction and the mortification of Shrewsbury in April 1587.¹⁷ This sequence of events represented first the failure of a woman to keep her property, and through determined action, her later success in recovering her fortunes. As part of her

building programme, Bess set up a monument to herself in Derby Cathedral, demonstrating her perception of her personal high rank in society even when that rank was derived from the husband whom she had challenged. She aimed to set up a separate noble dynasty in her children and that is the achievement celebrated in the epitaph on her monument.

Another litigious wife was the 'virtuous' third Countess of Cumberland, the mother of the Lady Anne Clifford. She initiated lawsuits in 1601 to induce the Earl of Cumberland to agree to financial arrangements for the maintenance of herself, her daughter, and her household. When the third Earl ignored them, she took up the matter with Sir Robert Cecil who attempted to enforce the agreement on the Earl with no greater success, until, at the beginning of the new reign in 1603, the Countess professed herself unable to

'gett anythinge to furnishe her selfe as is fitt to attend on her ma^{tie} nowe comeinge [from Scotland to join James I in London] or for other solempnyties of the tyme present'.

She, her sister and her brother, jointly asked for the intervention of King James.¹⁸ This case demonstrates the corporate nature of legal endeavour; people sought the support and influence upon the law of as many highly placed relatives and friends as might be effective in pursuing their interests within a society in which

patronage was an important force. The law was not fixed and absolute, but negotiable, subject to the persuasions of a social and political hierarchy of interested parties. It was, of course, the lawyers who actually negotiated. These individual attempts by women to secure their rights do not correlate with the image of the public submissiveness of noblewomen.

Women accepted reduced personal allowances in circumstances of family financial embarrassment, but, as a result of a series of individual legal actions or Acts of Parliament to redress the grievances of individual wives who were not complaisant of injustice, fathers became increasingly careful of adequate provision for their daughters' dignified maintenance, through the mechanism of the marriage contract. Maintenance could be expected to meet the costs of gifts to friends, gambling, indulgence in fashion, charitable endowments, or indeed the commissioning of monuments, as shown by the activities of Lady Anne Clifford while Countess of Dorset. Occasionally, as in her mother's circumstances, maintenance had to meet household expenses. Varying with family practice, but round about 1620, the marriage contract came to include a deed of settlement upon trustees of a fixed annual sum which was to be at the free disposal of the wife.¹⁹ The law tardily recognised the practice of providing for wives in marriage

contracts and through trusts to pay annual sums to wives, reshaping medieval custom in acknowledging wives' property rights. Cioni traced these changes through Chancery suits:

'At common law a married woman assigned her property rights to her spouse for his life. By creating and enforcing trusts in the later sixteenth century, Chancery was able to modify the existing law and enable a married woman to hold property independently of her spouse and to exercise the same rights over this property as a feme sole or a man could. The premises were assigned to a trustee to hold the equitable interest to the use of the feme covert. At common law this property was vested in the trustee, but in equity the trustee was obliged to fulfil his promise and to perform the terms of the trust by giving the equitable estate to the feme covert. This fostered the principle of the separate estate of the married woman which was invoked in an increasing number of contracts in the early seventeenth century and became standard practice by mid-century.'

20

Until that was accomplished, wives had no legal escape from the consequences of their husbands' extravagances, witness the situation of the third Countess of Cumberland cited above, but neither could sons escape depredations to their expected inheritance by their fathers. Over a period c.1560-c.1640, the current owner had exceptional freedom in the disposition of his inherited property.²¹ The head of the family could break the entail to sell land to meet immediate needs, or split up his estate amongst his children as he saw fit. He could threaten them with total exclusion from the inheritance.²² Lady Anne Clifford, when she was Countess of Dorset, suffered two agonies: her husband

worked against her claim to the Clifford lands in exchange for a cash settlement to fuel his own spending, and he threatened to cut off their daughter from his Sackville inheritance.²³ Attempts to halt the wanton dispersal of family resources caused the practice of making a strict settlement in the mid-seventeenth century, by which owners' power to disperse their estates was curtailed.²⁴ This protected the marriage agreements made on behalf of the wife as well as the inheritance of the heir.

As well as extravagant husbands, there were spendthrift wives who beggared their husbands. A forceful wife could spend her husband's income unchecked despite her legally dependent position. Katherine Howard (d.1596), wife of the eleventh Lord Berkeley (d.1613), was able to do so for many years and when she was restricted to an allowance of £300 a year, she still found means to augment it.²⁵

By contrast, a thrifty wife could garner her husband's resources to the advantage of the whole inheritance. Another member of the Berkeley family was the careful Lady Elizabeth Carey (d.1635), who reduced her husband's expenditure and his debts, at the humiliating cost to him of signing, in 1609, 'a contract handing over all responsibility for managing his household to his wife

and her steward'. 26

The ability of wives to spend or save their husbands' resources was not determined by their husbands' legal ownership of property but rather by the interplay of personalities on the existing circumstances. The fact remained, however, that whatever agreements had been reached through the marriage contract (especially after the death of the previous source of revenue, the husbands' fathers), wives were dependent upon their husbands for daily maintenance, for payment of their personal allowances, and for their future security, with additional reassurance offered by the trustee system for those who had implemented it. Financial dependence ensured that wives remained subject to their husbands to some extent. The hierarchical ordering of society demanded that wives were subordinate to husbands, and the reality of economic dependence showed husbands to have the upper hand.

The doctrine of a natural hierarchy by which men were superior was by-and-large acknowledged by women as well as men, even by those women like Bess of Hardwick who demonstrated their intransigent independence of their husbands' control. Boldness in women was considered 'man-like' and acknowledged as such in the myth of the Queen's speech at Tilbury, when she claimed to have the

heart of a man; or again as Russell was described as 'more than womanly' in her speech in her defence in Star Chamber in 1606.

2.3 The abilities of widows

Legally, women fared much better in widowhood. Holdsworth summarised the changes in the financial position of widows as follows:

'By late medieval common law widows were granted a 'dower' of one third of their late husband's real property, a figure which was about the maximum a family could bear... In the early sixteenth century, the common law dower gradually gave way to the jointure, specifically provided for in the marriage settlement. If the settlement was drawn up before marriage, however, she was free when the time came to choose between the jointure and her right to a third of the real property as a dower'. 27

Cioni's interpretation of the legal status of widows was that :

'The law's perception of women became somewhat more realistic after the husband died. Then, the widow was considered as a single woman and provided with legal procedures such as a writ to secure her dower'. 28

When arrangements were made by Burghley for Anne Cecil to marry Philip Sidney, her right was upheld to retain the choice of jointure or dower, 'in case the Sidney fortunes grew and the latter should turn out to be more profitable. An identical arrangement was made in the next generation for Frances Cecil in marrying the son and heir of the fourth Earl of Cumberland'. 29 Securing

the widow's choice depended on exceptional bargaining skills in the bride's family since the amount of jointure in any case represented the importance of the alliance with the woman. ³⁰

Lord Burghley negotiated the marriage contract for Elizabeth Cooke in marrying Thomas Hoby. ³¹ Presumably he took the same care with this match as with Anne Cecil's, quoted above, and so the assumption is that the widow's dower was arranged to give her the maximum possible without ruining the Hoby estate. Her second marriage showed her to be considered a suitable consort for the heir to the Earl of Bedford and her endowment must have been part of her suitability. The attraction of Lady Anne Clifford for both her husbands was the likelihood that she would overturn her father's Will and be recognised as legitimate heiress to the Clifford estates. It seems likely that her cousin, the fourth Earl of Bedford, included in the contract for her marriage with her second husband, the Earl of Pembroke, a trust to protect her separate estate of jointure, because she did not lose control of property which had come to her from Dorset. ³² Jointure agreed by the fourth Earl of Bedford for Lady Anne's marriage to Pembroke was later enhanced by a further agreement made by Bedford which greatly benefited Lady Anne. ³³ Jointures were for the lifetime of the widow and did not

return to her late husband's estate if she remarried. Women collected jointure annuities from the estates of each husband whom they outlived. Bridget Hussey (d.1601), had jointures from her first husband, Sir Richard Moryson of Cassiobury, who died in 1556, from her second husband, Henry, second Earl of Rutland, who died in 1563, and from her third husband, Francis, second Earl of Bedford, who died in 1585. The amount of her jointure from the Rutland estate is known to be £600 per annum and she drew it from 1563 until 1601, or nearly forty years.³⁴ Lawrence Stone cites the example of Cecily Tufton (d.1653), who received from Sir Edward Hungerford £2,000 a year, and from Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, about £2,144.³⁵ Because of their longevity, the two women under study drew jointure for exceptionally long periods from their husbands' estates. Elizabeth Cooke drew jointure from the Hoby estate for forty-three years and from the Russell estate for twenty-five years. Lady Anne drew jointure rents from Dorset's estate for fifty-two years and from Pembroke's for twenty-six years. Such widows became wealthy women, with no one to question their use of their money. Their jointures were unassailable under common law, with no burden for the payment of their late husband's debts, or the maintenance of the heir, which were the province of the deceased's estate.³⁶ Widows exercised the authority of their dead husbands' rank and employed

whatever competence they had gained from their experience of managing their husbands' households in the family's various residences. Their disposition of their wealth went unquestioned, since they had the legal right to manage their affairs. The main estates went, of course, to the heir. Widows with young children often showed themselves to be caring guardians of the whole inheritance.

2.4 Conclusion on the position of women

In conclusion to this survey of the financial position of some noble women, and the two under study, it is clear that women, as brides, were assets in a family's bid for upward social mobility, worth the payment of valuable portions. Women were expected to marry to improve family status. As wives, women had considerable power over the success or failure of family finances through the exercise of their personal abilities, regardless of their legal position under the guardianship of their husbands. The majority of high ranking Englishwomen gave evidence of being better provided for than the legal premise indicated. If women were deprived of agreed rights by their husbands, they fought with the assistance of relatives and through lawyers to have these rights restored, and were far from

submissive to their theoretical legal impotence. The lengths to which some women went to secure their proper maintenance have provided the legal records for historians who have tended to see these wronged women as representative of all women. These cases provided a distorted record of injured wives, for the true situation was that most wives were maintained in dignity by husbands who sought harmony in the home and to avoid internecine lawsuits. The evidence on the two women studied shows that Elizabeth Cooke had a father and relations who were concerned to provide for her well-being and that she enjoyed two socially, financially and personally happy marriages. Her efforts went into maintaining the dignity of her second marriage. The Lady Anne Clifford had the misfortune to have a father who disinherited her. The third Earl's action was an honourable attempt to retain name and title and also to ensure that his brother, and not his daughter, met his debts. Her rank obliged her to enter alliances which seemed likely to maintain her high standing. It was her misfortune that both her husbands were extravagant and as well as dissipating their own resources, sought to secure for themselves Anne's disputed inheritance to fuel their extravagances. Her unhappy marriages caused her to fight for her rights with her husbands as well as with her father's brother, the King and his ministers of state.

The struggle of both these women to secure what they regarded as due to their rank made both of them increasingly redoubtable. Their exertions to secure their social position in a sense prepared them for patronage of a series of commissions, to commemorate themselves and the families for whose recognition they strove. Their different status at birth and the obstacles which they perceived led to differences in the subjects of the monuments which they erected. Elizabeth Cooke commemorated all the members of her family and eulogised her husbands, and perhaps also her father, but did not feel any need to erect monuments to people outwith her immediate family. The Lady Anne Clifford, on the other hand, sought outlets for her affection, and showed gratitude to those who had made her fit to fight for her inheritance. She set up monuments to a female cousin whom she loved, to the mother who had nurtured her and launched the campaign to secure her inheritance, to poets who provided solace and sustenance for her spirit. She failed to commemorate her husbands, in spite of the Wills of both which called for stately tombs.³⁷ Only when she had established herself on her father's territory, did she commemorate her father with a monument. Both women marked the achievement of their aims with monuments to themselves. Elizabeth Cooke's children were so dismayed by their mother's expenditure of her finances on her tomb that they did not provide an

epitaph in the prepared panels as recognition of her enrichment of them. In the like blank space provided by Lady Anne, her grandchildren added the acknowledgement of her part in their inheritance to her own record of noble descent.

CHAPTER 3 EDUCATION FOR CONSORTS TO COURTIER

3.1 A Renaissance curriculum

In medieval England the literate clergy had provided the managerial skills which allowed unintellectual kings and nobles to govern the realm. Since the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509) the trend had been for increasing numbers of 'well languaged' and competent men of the merchant gentry, like John Russell, later first Earl of Bedford, to become administrators on behalf of the Tudor king. Working alongside the diplomats were English humanists like Sir Thomas More (1477/8-1535) and the lesser known Sir Anthony Cooke (1505-1576), scholars dedicated to the greater understanding of the Church Fathers.¹ In early sixteenth-century England, learning was associated with administrative ability. It was thought that the study of Greek and Latin languages gave direct access to classical history, logic and philosophy to train men's minds to evaluate problems and to take decisions based upon intellectual reasoning. The patient acquisition of learning indicated a capacity for application to problems of state. Henry VIII employed Sir Thomas More and Sir Anthony Cooke in various capacities to promote his political ends.² Henry VIII's call, in 1531, for the submission of the English clergy to his spiritual and temporal supremacy meant that the sober intelligentsia of gentry families like the Cookes, the Hobys and the Russells served God through serving the

monarch, and they directed their learning towards state administration and providing education for government.

William Camden (1551-1623), antiquary and historian, quotes an aphorism of Cooke's: 'three things before whom he could do no wrong - his prince, his conscience, and his children'.³ Although there is no evidence for Cooke's personal tuition of Mildred, his eldest child, from c.1530, his dedication to scholarship makes it likely that he instructed her for some years and at that time set in train a curriculum which the younger children followed as soon as they were capable of participating in lessons. By 1536 Cooke was at court⁴ and may have resigned the day-to-day instruction of his children to hired domestic tutors working under his supervision. Henry VIII gave Cooke overall responsibility for the upbringing of Prince Edward (1537-1553), although a number of other scholars also tutored the Prince.⁵ From c.1530 with the tuition of Mildred Cooke until c.1553 and the death of King Edward, Cooke was concerned with the education of young people in the widest sense. The teaching which he provided personally and through others for Prince Edward would most naturally be transferred for the benefit of Cooke's own children in the Gidea Hall 'academy', whose excellence was noted by contemporaries. Camden reports Cooke's maxim 'that sexes as well as souls are equal in

capacity'.⁶ so that Cooke's five daughters probably received the English Renaissance curriculum of theology, the classics, and modern languages, similar to that provided for Edward VI and the other children of Henry VIII, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. That the discipline of mid-sixteenth century education was rigorous is suggested by Lawrence Stone's observation that 'In all our history there have never been such well-educated and scholarly kings and queens as Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey, Elizabeth and James I'.⁷ The subjects which were considered appropriate for the five Cooke girls can be surmised from their adult accomplishments. This evidence can reasonably be extended by what is known of the education of their contemporaries, the daughters of Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More and Sir John Cheke, since they shared the same christian humanist ethic and drew upon the same educators. The Princess Mary's education was formulated by Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), humanist and teacher, who, while he was in England in 1527, was appointed to teach her Latin⁸ and who wrote influential treatises on women's education; The Instruction of a Christian Woman in 1524, Plan of Studies for a Girl in 1524 and Duty of a Husband in 1529⁹, which continued the tradition of household management as the sole concern of women. The Princess Elizabeth received from Grindal and Ascham the full classical discipline which they taught at St.

John's. ¹⁰ Sir Thomas More's daughter Margaret had as one of her tutors Richard Hyrde, who advocated intellectual training for women as leading to their virtuous conversation and living. ¹¹ Margaret not only mastered Latin and Greek, but acquired knowledge of Theology, Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics and Astronomy. ¹² Lawrence Stone sets the daughters of Sir John Cheke alongside the More and Cooke ladies for classical scholarship. ¹³ This poll of humanist education for high ranking women in mid sixteenth-century England suggests that the Cookes learned Greek and Latin for access to the Church Fathers, for a knowledge of philosophy and Roman history plus knowledge of logic and mathematics, some music, astronomy and modern languages, but above all theology; and their later activities tend to confirm this as a minimum curriculum. Nevertheless, the purpose of their training was to increase their skills in household management. No doubt the courtly accomplishments of fine manners, playing the lute and virginals, embroidery and dancing would be included. Camden again reports on Cooke, that his

'first care was to imbue their infancy with a knowing, serious and sober religion... and his next to inure their youth to obedience and modesty...whilst sedulously...cultivating their talents...he taught them to regard all study as a recreation, and to place their real business ... in the needle in the closet and housewifery in the kitchen and the hall'. ¹⁴

The Renaissance extension of classical and scientific

education for the daughters of humanists was aimed at enriching and ornamenting the patriarchal society. Such educated women would use their erudition and educated sensibilities to advance the health and wealth of their families, following the patriarchal rules of society.

3.2 Single women

Sir Anthony Cooke trained his daughters' graces and accomplishments for possible higher social positions than his own substantial gentry status, and he gave them the new mental equipment for careers at court. From about 1540 there was a brief era of some fifty years during which learning in young women was a prized commodity on the marriage market on a par with classical learning in young men preparing for professional careers in the royal service. William Wotton (1666-1726) recorded seventeenth-century perceptions of it as an extraordinary phenomenon:

'It was so very modish that the fair Sex seem'd to believe that Greek and Latin added to their Charms; and Plato and Aristotle untranslated, were frequent Ornaments of their Closets. One wo'd think by the effects, that it was a proper way of Educating them, since there are no accounts in History of so many great Women in any one Age, as are to be found between the Years fifteen hundred and sixteen hundred'.

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Learned women were much admired by their contemporaries. Roger Ascham (1515-1568) spoke of Mildred Cooke (1526-1589) as one of the most learned women in England

second only to Lady Jane Grey, and praised especially Mildred's knowledge of Greek. Haddon tells of a visit which he made to the Cooke household, which he describes as a little academy: 'while I stayed there I seemed to be living among the Tusculans [Renaissance Italians] except that the activity of women was flourishing there'.¹⁶ The mid-sixteenth century was the age which adopted the phrase 'blue stocking' for women who were not wholly admired for their application to scholarship by more flamboyant courtiers. In writing home in 1558, the Spanish Ambassador called one of the Cookes 'a tiresome blue stocking'.¹⁷ Ballard later said that Anthony Cooke 'bestowed so liberal an education on his daughters that they became the wonders of the age'.¹⁸ There is the authority of George Buchanan (1506-1582), Scottish humanist and tutor to Mary Queen of Scots, that the Cooke ladies were:

'rare Poetesses, so skilful in Latine and Greeke, beside many other their excellent qualities, eternized already by the golden pen of the Prince of Poets of our time'.¹⁹

Their contemporary fame shows not only how highly classical learning was then valued, but especially how very rare it was even in the highest ranking English society. It should be emphasised that such intensive intellectual training for women was exceptional at even the highest levels of society, and in the case of the Cooke ladies it was intended to gain access for them to

the honourable ranks of the armigerous professional administrators. Sir Anthony Cooke was thus able to arrange distinguished marriages for his daughters 'at a time when the family's economic situation was improving and its social and political status high'.²⁰ Even so, five portions adequate to the matches they made must have been hard to find, so that Sir Anthony was perhaps excusing a meagre portion in comparison with the jointure agreement when he wrote to one of them: 'my example is your inheritance and my life your portion'.²¹

The Lady Anne Clifford, born near the end of the sixteenth century into the ancient nobility, was forbidden by her father to learn Latin. He himself had been taught Latin, but never displayed accomplishment in the classics.²² The Earl of Cumberland probably equated classical learning with the surge of lower ranking men into service to the state. Latin was the symbolic key to learning for careers in government and diplomacy, and was therefore unsuitable to a young woman whose rank set her above such competition. Latin was also the language of Catullus and Ovid, associated with pagan rudeness whose frank eroticism would affront the chaste modesty of a young lady. He did not wish his daughter to be associated with it. This was an important limitation on the Lady Anne Clifford's direct access to classical ideas and images. During the youth of Lady Anne, at the

turn of the century, the English language flowered through its use by the English Renaissance poets and dramatists, so that the vernacular reached a new respectability as a sophisticated medium of communication. This meant that it could be a suitable medium of learning for a well-lettered woman. The Lady Anne studied a wide range of liberal subjects under her governess Mrs Anne Taylour and her tutor Samuel Daniel, who was acknowledged as a major poet and respected historian, so that she received the best education her mother could devise. Her pride in her studies informs the content of the left panel of the triptych of her

Pl. 28 Great Memorial Picture.²³

3.3 Married women

After marrying Mildred, the eldest Cooke daughter, Sir William Cecil bargained for the match of Elizabeth, and possibly Margaret Cooke.²⁴ Camden gives their learning as reasons for their matches in relating their liberal education:

'He was happy in his daughters, whom having brought up in learning, both Greek and Latine, above their sex, he married to men of great Account; namely to Sir Wm Cecyl, who was Treasurer of England [Mildred, 1526-1589], to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper [Anne, 1528-1610], and Sir Thomas Hoby, who died Embassadour in France [Elizabeth, born 1539, married 27 June 1558, died 1609], Sir Ralf Roulet [Margaret, married 27 June 1558, died 1558], and Sir Henry Killigrew [Katherine, died 1583]'.²⁵

By marrying all his daughters to men who were active in royal service, Cooke provided them with good matches and with powerful connections for their future careers. The Cooke women benefited from the brief explosion of Renaissance passion for learning, and themselves became influential in extending intellectual training to fit the new Elizabethan administrators to rule in the modern state. Elizabeth Cooke moved into company with the best of the professional men, while Lady Anne Clifford was forced to remain with the comparatively unscholarly and undisciplined effete nobility who were bent on personal gratification, both financial and sexual, to her cost and her sorrow.

3.4 The effects of education

In 1570, Roger Ascham wrote of the role of education in effecting the rise of young men of gentry status to positions of power and honour in the land through their administrative abilities. Ascham berated the ancient nobility:

'The fault is in yourselves, ye noble men's sonnes, that commonlie the meaner mens children cum to be the wisest counsellours and greatest doers in the weightie affaires of this Realme. And why? For God will have it so, of his providence, bicause ye will have it no otherwise, by your negligence'.²⁶

Earlier, Lawrence Humphrey had noted the same effect of applied learning: 'ceasse nobles, therefore, to hate

learnynge'.²⁷ Young women as well as young men were pursuing careers at a higher social level by way of the charms which classical learning held for the society of late sixteenth century England. The objective of this second generation was unequivocally to train for active service for the state. Mildred Cooke's husband, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was a key figure in urging rigorous study upon young nobles to make

'a fytte servaunte for the Queene and your countrey
for which you weare born, and to which, next God,
you are most bounde'.²⁸

It was their birth and education which determined the kind of husbands they could match. It is interesting to speculate on what the relative positions of these women would have been if either of Elizabeth's husbands had lived long enough to achieve his potential status. Elizabeth seemed bound to enjoy the more rewarding inner life through her own greater resources, to be as competent in undertaking practical matters, and to reach the social rank of Countess. As the circumstances of their lives fell out, both women exhibited the irritated bad temper of thwarted purpose at the same time in their lives as they commissioned some of their monuments. It seems that as well as honouring the memory of the dead, the commissions soothed their frustrated sense of what was due to them. It is no coincidence that it was these two women who commissioned multiple works of commemoration. For different reasons, they had to

assuage disappointed hopes of what might have been their lot.

Education for competence rather than for knightly prowess and display was the key skill in the developing bureaucratic state. As a young adult, Elizabeth Cooke moved within the section of society which provided administrative skills. This gave her the self assurance to contemplate setting up a monument to her diplomat husband and a chapel to house his memorial and subsequent family relics. Later confirmation of the power of her learned relatives encouraged her to move the site of her commemorations from her private chapel to the public veneration of Westminster Abbey. Lady Anne was taught to expect a high destiny and as a young patron she commemorated people who had confirmed that sense within her, setting their memorials where they were buried. The sense of loss of people who conferred dignity upon these patrons was translated into the activity of commissioning visual prompts to the public memory of their status. Lady Anne had to wait for late middle age to achieve the enjoyment of the estates into which she had been born, and to erect in their private places memorials to her ancestors. By doing so, she built up her own considerable personal prestige, as the Clifford female title-holder. She had long since abandoned her married identities and never undertook her

social obligations for commemoration associated with the married state. Classical learning underlay Elizabeth Cooke's innovations in the forms of monumental sculpture, while Lady Anne's monuments adopted the court fashion of the time they were built, with epitaphs all in English.

CHAPTER 4 ELIZABETH COOKE

4.1 Assessments of Elizabeth Cooke

The earlier born of these two women patrons of commemorative commissions was Elizabeth Cooke (1539-1609).¹ Although she was one of five sisters who were renowned for their classical learning² in mid sixteenth-century England and although she was accounted formidable for her insistence upon her assumed rights, no substantial biography of her has been written.

Instead, historians have quarried her surviving letters in the published Hatfield House archives and in the British Museum, and quoted one another's comments on her. Her name appears in the index of many books for little cumulative understanding of her position within her society. Lawrence Stone has made effective use of her reputation for learning in his assessment of female education³, deducing that the few learned women were regarded with awe.

Patrick Collinson quoted her courageous support for individuals involved in disputes on the organisation of the church when her attitude might have impaired her own social standing.⁴ Roy Strong paid tribute to her socially adroit arrangements for her daughter Anne's marriage by which Anne very publicly entered a higher

rank in the major nobility.⁵ These distinct historical issues were all illustrated by aspects of this remarkable woman's career, yet no one has added them up to form an assessment of the woman's aims within the circumstances of her life. There has been no overview of the totality of her actions in the hierarchical society in which she lived which has included the visual evidence of the chapel and monuments which she set up in it and in Westminster Abbey.

Elizabeth (1539-1609) was the sixth child and fourth daughter of Anthony Cooke (1504-1576) and his wife Anne Fitzwilliam (d. before 1576), so that the Cooke 'academy' was well established by the time she was old enough to learn her letters. She is likely to have been precocious in an attempt to participate in the same studies as her elders, and must have spent her youth in her father's exacting programme of intellectual and practical training and in acquiring domestic skills and social accomplishments.

4.2 The first marriage

At midsummer 1557, when she was eighteen, Elizabeth was staying with her eldest sister Mildred (1526-1589) and her husband, Sir William Cecil, probably as part of her training in household management. She was taken by them

to Bisham to pursue with Sir Philip Hoby (1505-1558) negotiations for a marriage.⁶ Her intended husband was the twenty-seven year old Thomas Hoby (1530-1566), Sir Philip's half-brother, who had undergone an extensive education at St John's College, Cambridge University, followed by travel in Europe to learn modern languages and politics, for a diplomatic career. Thomas Hoby was then resident at Bisham, supervising his half-brother's building works.⁷ Some of these Tudor additions to the medieval hall survive as evidence of that activity. As a relative with superior bargaining skills, Sir William Cecil assumed the paternal role in negotiating the marriage contract. Knowledge of other marriage settlements which he arranged for members of his family (already cited) leaves no doubt that Elizabeth Cooke would be given the maximum protection Sir Philip Hoby's estate allowed. At this point Sir Philip's health failed and he 'made disposition of all his lands and goods'.⁸ On 11 May 1558 Thomas travelled from Bisham to London to 'set my hand to a recognisance'[legal obligation to undertake an act], and on 13 May on his journey home, 'took my way by Wimbleton', where Elizabeth was living in Sir William Cecil's household⁹, 'where I communed with Mrs Elizabeth Cook in the waye of mariage',¹⁰ in the full and immediate knowledge of his inheritance. This statement shows the eagerness of the young bride and bridegroom to implement arrangements

reached by the older negotiators Sir William Cecil and Sir Philip Hoby. Sir Philip died in London on Whitsunday the 19th May 1558; his funeral cortege travelled up river to Bisham church on the banks of the Thames, where he was buried on the 9th of June 1558.

In the same month, on Monday the 27th of June 1558, the marriage of Elizabeth Cooke and Thomas Hoby was solemnized. On the same day, her sister 'Margaret, the Quene's maide [Queen Mary Tudor] married Sir Rauf Rowlet knight'¹¹, possibly also through the negotiations of Sir William Cecil, in a ceremony which honourably matched two Cooke daughters with the incidental benefit of reducing the celebration costs. Marriage so soon after the death of Sir Philip must have been at his behest, and the cordial assent of Cecil is shown by Hoby's diary entry:

'The rest of this sommer [1558] my wief and I passed at Burleighe, in Northamptonshire', the home of Sir William.¹²

Both parties to the match seemed to be well satisfied.

At Bisham the Hoby's first child, Edward, was born on Wednesday, 20th March 1560.¹³ On the 4th of June 1560 they entertained Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, and Sir Anthony Cooke.¹⁴ On the 8th September 1560 they entertained some dozen nobles, indicating that some of the new lodgings were complete. In the tapestry room,

south of the Hall, the arms of Thomas Hoby impaled with those of his wife, were carved over the fireplace.¹⁵ In 1561 the building programme at Bisham, instigated by Sir Philip and completed by Thomas Hoby, was finished.¹⁶ On 27 May 1562, the Hobys' second child, Elizabeth, was born. Also in this year the garden and orchard at Bisham were planted and heraldic decoration added to the gallery to the Hall.¹⁷ In 1563 Hoby laid on a water conduit and placed a fountain in the garden. No record remains of the size and style of the fountain but it is likely to have been like other fountains erected by Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir William Cecil, Hoby's brothers-in-law.¹⁸ If so, Hoby was already patronising William Cure who was later to build his memorial, in this fountain commission of 1563. In 1564 repairs to outhouses and barns were effected. On 16th November, their third child, Anne, was born.¹⁹ The factual records in Thomas Hoby's diary present a prosperous and happy picture of domestic well being, of building expansion on the north and south of the Hall, and the establishment of the family. The diary ends in 1564 with Hoby's entry on the christening of Anne, at Bisham.

Beyond this date, the State Papers provide evidence of Thomas Hoby's activities. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on Sunday 9 March 1566²⁰ and on 15th March 1566 appointed by Queen Elizabeth as her

Ambassador at the court of the French King Charles IX.²¹ In early April Ambassador Hoby set out for Paris with his wife and her brother Edward Cooke in his train. Lady Hoby wrote from Dover to thank Sir William Cecil for his 'many benefits' and 'fatherly care' of her.²² They crossed in two ships to Calais and Hoby there inspected the fortifications of the town which Mary Tudor had surrendered to France in 1558. Hoby presented his letter of accreditation from Queen Elizabeth to the French King on 16th May,²³ and the Ambassador's train was welcomed into the French Court.²⁴ Sir Thomas pursued his office at the French court until 13 July 1566, when he died suddenly of plague, having made his deathbed will the previous day, appointing Lady Elizabeth his sole executor.²⁵ An account of Hoby's death was given in Edward Cooke's letter to Sir William Cecil.²⁶ Lady Elizabeth Hoby brought home her husband's body in a carriage covered with black²⁷ and presented Queen Elizabeth with the bill for the transportation costs of the embassy, the details of which indicated the participation of substantial numbers of officials.²⁸ The twenty-seven year old widow behaved in an exemplary fashion to her French hosts, equipped as she was by her education to win favour at the French court, and she attracted a letter of approbation from Queen Elizabeth and Sir William Cecil, who drafted it.

'...And for your self we can not but lett you know that we here out of France such singular good reports of your duety well accomplished towards your husband, both lyvyng and deade, with other your sobre, wise and discret behaviours in that court and country, that we think it a part of gret contentation to us and a comendation of our country that such a gentilwoman hath gyven so manifest a testimony of virtue in such hard tymes of adversite...though we thought very well of you befor yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts... Your loving friend, Elizabeth R. 29

Returning home in August, Lady Elizabeth Hoby immediately instituted the building of a chapel ³⁰, with the intention of separating Hoby tombs from others already in the church. Her action shows her authority in ordering what amounted to an additional nave to be attached to the parish church, and it shows her ability to command the considerable financial resources needed. This provides evidence for the substantial nature of Hoby's estate, and her pretensions. She was claiming public honour for the brothers as builders of a family who had newly obtained high status through their professional skills. She graced with fine ceremony their and her own achievements, which had caused Queen Elizabeth to call her 'friend'. ³¹ She had Sir Philip's remains removed from another part of the church and installed in a double interment in a vault under the Hoby Chapel on 2nd September 1566, with the church and new chapel 'hanged to the ground with black clothe' and

the funeral procession marshalled by York Herald and Portcullis Pursuivant.³² The confidence and authority of the young widow seem to derive from her education, and her experience at the French court as the Ambassador's wife and deputy. She was 'great w^t chylde'³³ at the funeral, and three days later, on Friday 5 September 1566, gave birth to a son, dramatising his situation by calling the child Thomas Posthumus (sic). The Queen confirmed her favour by agreeing to be godmother, and Robert, Earl of Leicester attended the christening as her proxy³⁴, at Bisham. This must have been a lavish event involving as it did members of the court. The major events of the shock of death, winding up the embassy, ordering stately travel, funeral, birth and christening following so closely upon one another, show the stalwart character of Lady Hoby.

The monument which Lady Hoby erected in the chapel provided a visual image for the active diplomatic *careers* of the half brothers. Sir Philip's effigy was added to that of Sir Thomas out of affection, and also to extend Sir Thomas's brief career by the distinction of Sir Philip's long and honourable career in the service of English sovereigns. The effigies introduced new narrative drama to the poses of funerary sculpture. In the epitaphs which Lady Hoby supplied in Latin and in English, she recorded her duty to the brothers. She

also displayed her skill in the composition of typically Elizabethan sentiments such as the final couplet of one epitaph, which conferred eternal life on the subject through an account of their virtues:

'Thus live they dead, and we lerne wel thereby
That ye and we, and all the world must dye.' 35

The written word was highly important in publishing fame, at least as important as the visual image, for much space on the monument was devoted to eulogy. Lady Hoby's skill in composing English iambic blank verse showed her to rank with other more well-known Elizabethan poets, who had similarly learned the skill to progress at court. Her Latin verse was of the highest quality, being based on the best classical models, such as Virgil, and scanned in elegiac form of a high order. 36

If Hoby had not already adopted the family patronage of Cure, Lady Hoby's reliance on Sir William Cecil before and throughout her marriage make it likely that she sought his advice on a tombmaker to implement her commemorative scheme. In 1562 Sir William had a drawing prepared for a monument to himself and his wife Mildred 37 the figures of which were imbued with activity by small changes to standard kneeling poses. The freedom of movement in this drawing is akin to the graceful freedom of the attitudes of the effigies on the monument

of Hoby.. It is a fair inference that the central section of Cecil's scheme for a monument of 1562 [outer sections were later added to the drawing] and Lady Hoby's monument to Sir Thomas of 1566-c.1568 are both the work of William Cure I (1515-1579), whose work is so very hard to tie to documents although several tombs and secular sculptural works are thought to be carved by him. He made a fountain for the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, at Redgrave Hall, ready for erection in 1568 ³⁸, at the same time as Lady Hoby's monument was being fashioned, and may have provided the fountain at Bisham in 1563. On the grounds that she may have patronised the same stone-carver as her two eminent brothers-in-law, Lady Hoby is very likely to have chosen William Cure, who had come to England from Amsterdam at Henry VIII's bidding to work on his palace of Non such.

Lady Hoby's classical education and experience of French Renaissance sculpture, which she would have seen in Paris and in the Loire Valley when she accompanied the French court there in 1566, allowed her to be receptive to a French Renaissance style of expression for the deeds of the brothers. This monument introduced that style into England. It has infused into it the qualities of self awareness, the confidence, the celebration of the individual which are typical of the Renaissance. It also retains the English sense of piety

and the careful heraldic acknowledgement of family of more traditional English tombs of its era. The prominent epitaphs set their author's presence alongside the effigies' bid for eternal fame. Her motives in building a chapel and so fine a monument included but went beyond her duty to her dead husband. She was making a public statement of her closeness to the power house of the English court, her knowledge of French courtly ideas, her own virtue and her worthiness of high rank, in the publication of her husband's and her own personal merit, whereby she constructed a platform of prestige for her children.

To fit them as part of that minor nobility of state administrators, Lady Elizabeth trained her four Hoby children to individual excellence so that they, too, might have places of honour serving their sovereign ³⁹ but 'hard adversity' visited her again in 1570. Her eight-and six-year-old daughters Elizabeth and Anne ^{le}₇ died. She placed her memorial slab to them in front of their father's tomb. She set Latin verse within incised scrollwork in the shape of a Roman altar, thereby ennobling their promise as individuals. Her epitaph revealed her deep sense of commitment to her daughters, her pride in them and her sorrow at laying in one grave those who came from one womb. ⁴⁰ Lady Hoby's spiritual and heart-felt grief shows a depth of maternal love

not generally credited of this period. Her explicit grief anticipated later sixteenth-century English epitaphs in adopting the theme of grief in pagan inscriptions. Convention dictated her choice of a floor slab for gentry maidens. Their modest memorial adds to the poignancy of her husband's monument, which also proclaimed promise cut short by early death.

4.3 Second marriage

The setting of her second marriage indicated that Hoby's widow was in possession of Bisham Abbey in 1574. At Bisham, the parish register entry for 23 December 1574, read: 'the renowmbed [sic] Lady Hobbie married The Rt. Hon. Lorde John Russell'.⁴¹ She was 'renowmbed' for her learning, and at that time learning in a woman was thought to create a new bond between a learned husband and his wife.⁴² John Russell (c.1550-1584)⁴³ was a Member of Parliament for Bridport and sat on various parliamentary committees.⁴⁴ He was heir to Francis, second Earl of Bedford. With this marriage, Elizabeth Cooke became the wife of a man who was both a career diplomat and heir to the second generation of titled administrators. This advancement in rank endorsed all that Elizabeth had been taught, that learning was the 'pathway to virtue, godliness and capacity for high office in the royal service'.⁴⁵ With this marriage,

Elizabeth's liberal education was justified, her checked career as Lady Hoby opened out again to her exercise of patronage and influence as the thirty-five year old Lady Russell. The mature Elizabeth Cooke lent her strength of purpose to her younger husband, whose career and social position she very responsibly promoted. Less than two months after the marriage, by 17 February 1575, the twenty-five year old Lord Russell was planning to retrace the steps in diplomacy of Thomas Hoby, in travelling around the courts of Europe to learn government, by way of Germany, Milan, Naples and the States of the Church, and be introduced to 'his Cesaraen [sic] majesty', whose predecessor Thomas Hoby had visited. Russell had the protection of the Queen's licence to travel to 'be freed from encountering the difficulties that might otherwise be thrown in his way by the inquisitors on account of his religion'.⁴⁶ In planning foreign travel so soon after marriage, Russell had the positive encouragement of his wife. If he went, Russell's was a brief tour, because he was in England for the birth of their child in October 1575. This immediate pregnancy aroused excited comment among Elizabethan courtiers. On 26 April 1575 Edward Bacon wrote to Nathaniel Bacon: 'It is said my Ladie Russell is with child, but I thinke other wise and so doe wiser than I'.⁴⁷ Lady Russell's prestige must have been greatly enhanced by producing an heir to the earldom in

record time after the marriage, at the advanced age of thirty-six. In addition to her other skills, she demonstrated prowess as a woman. Lord and Lady Russell sought permission of Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, to stage the birth of their first child in Westminster Abbey, probably to establish succession for a son to the Earl of Bedford. In doing so, they made the birth a communal event, a spectacle to amaze the nobility. Two rooms were prepared in the Abbey precincts for the birth, described in BL. Hargrave MS. 497, quoted by J.H. Wiffen.

'In the chamber within the house where the Lady Russell lay, was set up a rich bed of estate for a countess. In the same chamber was also placed a rich pallet, covered with a rich counterpane. Also a rich cupboard, and a secret oratory within or near the same chamber for necessities appertaining to such estates.

In the second chamber was a cloth of estate for an earl, coming down to the pommel of the chair, or somewhat higher. Also a traverse, which was never to be drawn up until the purification be passed; and in that chamber it was ordered that (if the christening be not public) a font should be placed, and two ushers to attend for the straining of the water and keeping it warm. In the outer great chamber was ordained a cupboard for the ewery, and such other affairs during the time of her childbed, or keeping her chamber'. 48

This record of the rich furnishing and canopied hangings to the bed and chair aims to stress the ceremonial of the birth of a child of high rank and is evidence of general acceptance as heirs to an earldom of Lord and Lady Russell, because the canopies were calculated to denote nobility at the level of an earl and countess.

The child was born on 22 October 1575, and that day Lord Russell sought the favour of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in securing Queen Elizabeth as Godmother.

'God having delivered our poor lady of great fear and torment, I do both as joyfully and as speedily as I can, let your lordship know thereof; and though I could have wished, with all my heart, to have had a boy, yet the danger that I stand in of losing both, doth make me rejoice in having a girl.

I cannot tell what surety I may make of the queen's acceptance, if I should beseech her majesty to be godmother, which I think best not to leave untried. I mean shortly to wait upon your lordship at the court, at which time I will crave your lordship's advice, and refer myself herein to your direction, and so I humbly take my leave.

At Westminster College, the 22nd of October 1575.

Your lordship's loving brother-in-law and assured to command, John Russell'. 49

This letter, taken together with the preparations for a private christening vessel, show the prevalent fear of death in childbirth. The letter shows Lord Russell finding the route to royal attention to pass through Burghley, Lady Russell's powerful family connection.

The Queen agreed to be godmother and, further, sent her Lady of the Privy Chamber, the Countess of Warwick, who was Lord Russell's eldest sister, attended by Mr. Wingfield, the Queen's gentleman usher, to prepare Westminster Abbey for the christening of the child. Mr Wingfield

"caused a traverse of crimson taffeta to be set on the right side of the high table near to the steps within the chancel, and therein placed a carpet, chair, and cushions of estate. Then a great basin

was set in the middle, near to the high table, a yard high, upon a small frame for that purpose covered with white linen, and the basin set thereon with water, and flowers about the brim'. 50

The christening took place at 10 o'clock on Thursday 27 October 1575,

'the witnesses and the rest being all assembled, they proceeded [processed] out of the Dean's lodging through the cloister, into the church, in the manner following:

First, the gentlemen that accompanied the lords and ladies went on before, then knights in their places, barons and earls in their degrees; then the Earl of Leicester, godfather. Then the child, in a mantle of crimson velvet, guarded with two wrought laces of gold, having also over the face a lawn, striped with lace of gold overthwart, and powdered with gold flowers and white [flowers] wrought thereon, borne by the midwife, Mrs. Bradshaw. Then the Countess of Sussex, a godmother, a Gentleman Usher, the Countess of Warwick, deputy for the Queen, her train borne by the Lady Burghleigh, sister to the Lady Russell, and the Lady Bacon, sister to the Lady Russell. Other ladies and gentlemen, many.

When they were entered and placed in the church, the Dean began a brief collation, all which time the deputy remained within the traverse, and the other ladies without. Now as soon as the Dean had made an end, the Lady Bacon took the child, and brought it to the font, where the Dean attended in his surplice. Then the Earl of Leicester approached near to the traverse, and there tarried until the deputy came forth; from whence they leisurely proceeded to the font, the deputy's train still borne, where she christened the child by the name of Elizabeth; which done, the deputy retired back into the traverse again, and the midwife took the child, and came down, and there dressed it. In the meantime Mr. Philip Sidney came out of the chapel called St. Edward's shrine, having a towel on his left shoulder, and with him came Mr. Deeves, bearing the basin and ewer, and took the same. Then the deputy came forth, her train borne, and they two kneeling [Sidney and Deeves], she washed, then other gentlemen with two basins and ewers, came to the Countess of Sussex and the Earl of Leicester: and they having washed, immediately came from the aforesaid place of St. Edward's

shrine, gentlemen with cups of hippocras and wafers; that done, they all departed out of the church, through the choir, in such order as before, the Lady Bacon carrying the child, and so the said ladies and godfather went into the Lady Russell's chamber. And here it is to be observed, that upon their coming out of the chamber, the Lady Sussex took place before the Countess of Warwick [as deputy for the Queen], because the solemnity was finished.

The child was named after the Queen, her godmother, thus repeating the use of the name of her dead half-sister. The godparents undertook to renounce the devil and declare the faith on behalf of the child: hence the need for the washing and drying of the godparents and the child.

The company then proceeded to dinner; and when the first and second course were ended, voidance was made of all things on the table, salt and all. Then came in a stately and costly delicate banquet, at the upper table only, which ended and voided, and grace said by the Lord Russell's chaplain, the lords washed; and after rose and returned again into the bedchamber and presently departed thence.

Presents given by: the Queen - a great standing cup; Countess of Sussex: a standing cup; Earl of Leicester; a great bowl...the above sent their presents privately into the bedchamber'. 51

This eyewitness account by one of the minor figures present assumes a knowledge in the reader of the ceremony of baptism, and knowledge that a banquet was a continuation of dinner by a course of elaborately formed and gilded sweetmeats and fruit. Instead of explaining these, the writer dwells upon the richness of the furnishings and provisions, upon the location of the

whole event within the precincts of the Abbey, and upon matters of precedence. The record was written for a reader who understood the prime importance of due recognition of the rank of each participant. This remarkable document emphasised the event as a celebration of the ability of Lord and Lady Russell to command it. Lord Russell presumably took his place in the procession, but Lady Russell assured attendance upon herself in her chamber by the noble godparents, through the siting of the bedchamber within the Abbey. The pageant of Elizabeth Russell's christening was a master stroke of social manoeuvring on the part of Lady Russell which publicised her favour with the Queen, and her place among great figures of the court. The public nature of the birth and christening of her first Russell child advanced the career of Elizabeth Cooke and commemorated her position in society in exactly the same way as the heraldic funeral and memorial to her first husband had. These occasions of splendour endowed her with the glory of the passing show and fixed her and her child in the memory of her contemporaries.

Elizabeth Cooke, as Lady Russell, gave birth to three children: Elizabeth (1575-1600), Anne (1577-1639) and Francis (c.1579-1580). Starting when she was twenty-one, Elizabeth bore her seven children at regular two-yearly intervals, suggesting that care was taken in

planning the births, to allow the maximum number of children to each marriage consistent with maintaining her health. The delay in conceiving her first child demonstrated the restriction on childbearing by very young wives, which Elizabethans believed to be responsible for the birth of damaged children. Part of the ethos attaching to mid-sixteenth century learned ladies was that their children would benefit morally as well as in health from sucking their mother's milk. Houlbrooke noted advocacy for maternal breastfeeding among humanists and reforming clerics in the belief that the child imbibed the characteristics of the woman who fed it.⁵² An indication that Lady Russell subscribed to this view and breastfed her children is given by her statement that her daughter absorbed pure religion with her mother's milk.⁵³ Breastfeeding may well have been the natural, known, method adopted by Elizabeth in spacing her children⁵⁴, since her fertility was attested to by the conception of the first Russell child soon after marriage.

The death in infancy of her only Russell son caused her great grief, both personal and dynastic, because he was the hoped-for heir to the earldom.⁵⁵ Elizabeth Russell's auspicious start in life, as goddaughter of the Queen, and granddaughter of the highly esteemed second Earl of Bedford, meant that a splendid marriage

was expected for her.

Lady Russell directed the education and careers of all her children. She did not yield the wardship of her son Edward Hoby, as was customary, to Lord Russell.⁵⁶ She would not allow Posthumus to travel abroad as part of his education, because of the hazards of travel and dangers to his morals and purity of religion in catholic states, for small returns, for which she cites his brother's travels and the example of his cousin Anthony Bacon.⁵⁷ She characterized Posthumus outspokenly:

'What his owne infirmityes and insufficiency by want of stature, learning, and otherwise be, I know'.

And of the children she said:

'I know my children, as well as ye wisest shall, in tyme, and have not had a desyre to vnderstand what is farther from me, to be ignorant of them that are so nere: And thogh my naturall inclination have ben, by love and reason to procure my children to love and feare me, yet I have not deserved therby Contempt, nor shewed my self simple, in being ignorant of my due, and valew of my desart'.⁵⁸

Her position as guardian of her minor children, which she had deliberately retained, taken together with her social advancement through her second marriage, gave her a very strong position as a woman, with a consort to endorse her rule over her children.

She claimed to have spent seven thousand pounds, plus

his 'Charge of Education' on the sixteen-year old Posthumus, and further agreed to pay one hundred pounds yearly for him in the household of Lord Burghley, for the strict discipline and rigorous training of the young men who entered the service of the Lord Treasurer.⁵⁹ Her control of Posthumus and her acceptance of Edward's 'most dutifull service'⁶⁰ show her to be a strong willed woman applying to her children the duty of obedience to parental command which she herself had accepted as a young woman. She had the benefit of some ten years maturity over her noble husband, which was surely another source of her power within the family. She sought the means to careers under the sovereign for her sons and expected them to recognise the wisdom of her choices.

With reason, Lady Russell expected her second husband to advance at court in the 1580s through the Queen's and Lord Burghley's distribution of an enormous range of offices and favours⁶¹ and in due course through his inheritance, to raise her to the status of Countess of Bedford, to provide powerful Protestant connections for her two devotedly Protestant Hoby sons. Death again deprived her of access to high office and a route to social eminence. Her thirty-four year old husband died suddenly, of consumption, on 23 July 1584. His servant's account of his death attests to Russell's

'great and singular wisdom' ⁶², as do his epitaphs.

Only four days later, on 27 July 1584, Lord Russell's body was conveyed from Highgate, where he died, to Westminster Abbey, for the heraldic funeral 'at the cost of the Lady Elizabeth, his wyffe'. ⁶³ He was accorded nine principal mourners and full ceremonial with heralds, standard, banners, helmet, sword and mantle and a procession clothed in black, as fitted his rank within the major nobility. The number of principal mourners allotted to each rank was precisely determined ⁶⁴ and denoted the rank of heir to an earl. Unusually, his two daughters walked in the funeral procession. ⁶⁵ Short laudatory verses were affixed to the hearse structure and two epitaphs of this kind survive; one by William Camden and one by his stepson, by then Sir Edward Hoby, to attest to Edward Hoby's Latinity ⁶⁶ and admiration for Lord Russell. Russell was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, which for burial purposes was ranked only less regal than the Chapel of the Confessor. ⁶⁷ Lady Russell claimed high honour for her husband in securing his funeral in this famous place, at the heart of current and past public veneration for royalty and nobility. The royal and other tombs at Westminster were respectfully paid homage by visiting foreign noblemen, and 'English peers and gentry up from the country flocked to see them'. ⁶⁸ It was for this

acknowledgement that Lady Elizabeth paid for the costly ceremonial of interment in Westminster Abbey rather than bury Lord John among his ancestors in the Bedford private family chapel at Chenies, Buckinghamshire, erected adjacent to the Church of St Michael in 1556.⁶⁹ The death of Lord Russell only a few months before the death of the second Earl of Bedford (1527-1585), who was buried in the family chapel at Chenies, meant that the earldom did not descend to his family and that consequently his wife did not attain her anticipated rank of Countess.

ll. When Elizabeth came to erect the grandiose architectural
8
ll. monument to Lord Russell, with its life-sized effigy of
9
him costumed in his baron's robes, she also commemorated
the infant Francis (c.1579-1580), the only possible male
heir within this family, by setting a beautifully
ll. detailed effigy of this, her late child of high hopes,
10
at the feet of his father.

CHAPTER 5 PLANS FOR HER CHILDREN

5.1 Sir Edward Hoby (1560-1617)

The letters of Elizabeth, Lady Russell, show that she felt herself to be the creator of the careers of her children ¹, and the record justifies her claim. By 1584, when she was widowed for the second time, she had fully prepared her elder son, Sir Edward Hoby (1560-1617), for a court career. Indeed, the most reliable record of Edward's life acknowledged his mother's direction. ²

In order to retain control of Edward's education, she had purchased her son's wardship ³ during her first widowhood and did not surrender it to Lord Russell when she remarried. ⁴ Edward was sent to Eton College, followed by ten terms at Trinity College, Oxford. Graduating B.A., and M.A. in July 1576 he cut short his formal academic studies to travel on the continent to learn modern languages and experience foreign government. Between 1576 and 1579 ⁵ he travelled in France, the Low Countries, Spain and Portugal, becoming competent in French and Spanish, as his later translations demonstrated. ⁶ Edward was returned as a Member of Parliament, probably for Berkshire, and appointed to a House of Commons Committee on 4 March

1581.⁷ In 1584 he was studying law in the Middle Temple.⁸ This completed the tripartite higher education of noble English youths who aimed at careers in the service of the state, of University, Inns of Court, and foreign experience.

Edward Hoby was accounted an accomplished scholar by William Camden, given an eulogy in his Britannia under 'Bisham' and 'Queenborough', and was the dedicatee of Camden's Hibernia (1587).⁹ Edward Hoby shared his parents' deep concern for scriptural interpretation by engaging in theological discourses which unfolded his Protestant view in print.¹⁰ He was prepared by his mother to be a courtier on the pattern of scholar, soldier, theologian, gentleman. He found his own route to high favour at the Courts of King James VI and Queen Elizabeth through the patronage of his uncle, Lord Treasurer Burghley, and when Burghley lost patience with his demands, his mother made Edward write a letter of apology, thus demonstrating her continued authority over him.¹¹

On 21 May 1582, Edward married Margaret Carey (d.1605), daughter of Henry, Lord Hunsdon, acknowledged as cousin, who was perhaps a half-brother to Queen Elizabeth. The Queen's approval of Edward's marriage with her kin was sealed by her knighting him at Somerset House on the day

following the wedding. ¹² Sir Edward's diplomatic career was launched in the year that Lord Russell died, when, in August 1584, he accompanied his father-in-law, Lord Hunsdon on a mission to James VI of Scotland. Sir Edward made himself so agreeable to the King, that James subsequently sought his company. Sir Edward was made a knight of the canopy at Queen Elizabeth's funeral in 1603, and became a gentleman of the privy chamber when James ascended the English throne. ¹³ With Edward well married and embarked on a career at court, through the patronage of his father-in-law and Lord Burghley, the accomplished widow could devote her energies to the direction of her younger son and daughters.

5.2 Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby (1566-1640)

In accordance with the current custom of sending brothers away from home together to school and to University, at the age of eight Posthumus was sent along with Edward to Trinity College, Oxford. There is no record of his graduating from Oxford. In common with many sons of the gentry, he did not proceed to a degree. Presumably he spent some years there before returning to his mother's household. Lady Russell enrolled him c. 1585 in the Inns of Court, as the usual sequel to study of a general curriculum, delaying his intended entry to legal studies by one year on account of his diminutive

stature. ¹⁴ Posthumus Hoby and his cousins Sir Anthony Bacon and Sir Robert Cecil, all had misshapen bodies, which suggests that there was a faulty gene in their common female line. Posthumus compensated for physical shortcomings by sharing with his mother an autocratic will, which caused him to dispute the arrangements she made for him. He refused the instruction of the Inns of Court, and ran away from home rather than submit to these studies and the training in social graces which the Inns imposed. ¹⁵ He wanted to travel on the continent, but Lady Russell refused to countenance:

'his going over the sea, the dawnger most great,
the proffitt vncertayne, frivolows, the languages
to be learned.' ¹⁶

As mentioned above, Lady Russell had in mind not only the hazards to Posthumus of travel but the moral corruption of his religious opinions, on the example of his cousin Anthony Bacon, who became the intimate of those considered to be dangerous catholic gentlemen. Lady Russell resolutely denied foreign travel to her younger son and instead arranged for him to be exposed to a strict regime of discipline, deemed necessary to his wellbeing by current educational wisdom, in the service of Lord Treasurer Burghley, at a cost to her of £100 per annum. ¹⁷ In spite of Posthumus's dislike of 'that coorse of law w^{ch} might in end bredd my comfort and his owne goode' ¹⁸, he entered Gray's Inn in 1588 ¹⁹

for legal training which, as predicted by his mother, greatly benefited his later life. Posthumus was returned to Parliament for the Borough of Appleby in 1589 ²⁰ and went soldiering in the unpopular arena of Ireland, for which he was knighted on 7 July 1594. ²¹

During her second widowhood, Lady Russell opened what proved to be a five years' campaign to secure for Posthumus a marriage bond with a particularly suitable heiress, the pious Margaret Dakins (1571-1633), widow of Walter Devereux (d.8 September 1591). Posthumus's appearance was against him. Lady Russell had written to Burghley c. 1585 that 'he shoold be reputed as a chyld' ²² and others called him 'scurvy urchin' and 'spindle shanked ape'. ²³ Nor could his mother count on his classical learning as a means of recommending him to the ladies around the court. ²⁴ Lady Russell relied upon his religious zeal to appeal to Margaret, and his family connections to advance his suit, with her provision of a 'convenient joynture'. ²⁵ This was to be 'vC.li by yere, whereof iiiC.li of it joynter to her after my death, and a howse presently furnished to bring her to' ²⁶ in order to persuade both the widow Margaret and her father of the benefits of an alliance with relatives of the Lord Treasurer. This offer is especially important as it provides evidence of a woman negotiating for the marriage of her son, an adult male, and further shows

the widow to be the source of the bride's jointure. Lady Russell harnessed to her cause the influence of Lord Burghley, who also applied to the bride's father. These first moves failed because Arthur Dakins had immediately returned his widowed daughter to the care of the third Earl of Huntingdon, in whose household she had been trained.

Women, as well as men, acquired an education and learned courtly manners through service in noble households and Margaret Dakin's upbringing had been with the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon, who were active in passing on Protestant convictions to their proteges. Very early in her widowhood the Earl persuaded Arthur Dakins to bestow his daughter upon his own kin, and she married Thomas Sidney. Upon being widowed for the second time from Thomas Sidney (d.26 July 1595), Margaret - still only twenty-four - at last was nominally able to choose her own husband after the death of her father in 1592. Lady Russell then mounted a sustained campaign of letters from herself, Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil written to people who might exert influence upon the intended bride, to help bring about this financially, religiously and politically desirable alliance. Margaret's old master Huntingdon, pressed by Burghley, begged her:

'For God's cawse have care of all our credyts, and see handle the matter as his [Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby's] commynge agayne may be neyther offensyve to you nor dyspleasyng to hymselfe'.²⁷

Reasons put to Margaret in favour of the match were: the Earl of Huntingdon's approval, Lady Russell's 'natural affection for her son', Sir Thomas' own industry, his powerful kindred, and 'his education in so good a school of experience as my Lord Treasurer's Chamber'.²⁸ These letters acknowledged that Lady Russell could see a match to her son's advantage and set in motion the machinery of negotiation, but that she alone did not wield sufficient power to compel the bride to agree to the alliance. Indeed, the evidence showed how requests were made by groups of people all clamouring for the same outcome. At this time, Hoby also collected letters of recommendation from all his influential friends²⁹; from the newly widowed (1595) Countess of Huntingdon, Margaret's old mistress, from his cousin Sir Anthony Bacon, from Sir Robert Sidney, Margaret's brother-in-law, and from the Countess of Essex, her Devereaux sister-in-law³⁰, but none of this persuasion could urge Margaret into the match.

Eventually, in May 1596, Margaret's disputed right to the Hackness property which had been bought for her and her first husband for £6,000³¹ persuaded her to think of Hoby as a suitor as a means of obtaining powerful influence to weigh in her favour. Margaret's cousin, Edward Stanhope, a member of the Council of the North, showed understanding of the patronage system and of the

enormous power of Burghley, when he wrote to Margaret on
28 May 1596:

'Now my good cosen, what course for you to take in the meane while to make yt [the Chancery suit] sure, I cannot so well advise you, as if I were voyde of suspicion that my advise tended not to serve some other's turne [he had accompanied Hoby in visiting Margaret], which I protest I am free from intencion, and therefore will let you simply know what I thinke for your good; which is that having thes great folks to stand against you (and you having none greater that you may make account as sure to you, that may sway with my Lord Keeper [Egerton] to cast the ballance being indifferent to your syde if you would so farr use your faithfull servant Sir Thomas as dyrect him by your appointment to try his credytt with my Lord Treasurer for you, I know his Lordship may sway the matter wholly, and I am assured he so much affecteth his kinsman, as if he fynde that the mocian proceedeth from your self, and that Sir Thomas shall have kynde thanks of you for yt, he will stryke it sure for you...I wish you to afford Sir Thomas for his long service and entyer affeccion should not fall out as much to your good and comfort hereafter, as his, and that I know his estate shall be so well supplied by his honorable mother as that he shall be able (without that which you bring) to maintaine you according to his degree, I protest to you, by the faith of an honest man, I would not use thes speeches unto you...even so referring you to your owne good wisdom and honorable government....'

32

The practical basis of marriage of immediate property interests, plus the longer term considerations of social and political alignments, could hardly be more clearly demonstrated than in this plea for Margaret to accept Sir Thomas. Her cousin's letter indicated the element of choice allowed to Margaret in remarrying, but also warned that the cost of her refusal of Hoby would be losing her suit in Chancery and her Hackness estate.

Burghley intervened with the Court of Chancery which then found in Margaret's favour as predicted by Stanhope.

By the time that Margaret agreed, or was persuaded into the match, as well as being an heiress, she was a twice jointured widow. Her capitulation was therefore cause for great rejoicing on the part of Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby and his mother. Posthumus invited his cousin, Sir Anthony Bacon, to the celebration with the words:

'there would be no music as my mother does not wish it, and dancing is far from my own 'Humour' so that he would... seek only to please the Beholders with a Sermon and a Dinner.' 33

The marriage on 9 August 1596 at Lady Russell's house in Blackfriars ³⁴ was celebrated in the most sober fashion and must represent Hoby's intention of impressing his religious fervour upon his bride, to compensate her for his lack of courtly graces.

Lady Russell and her ally Lord Burghley had calculated well in pursuing this match so obdurately. Hoby proved to be a very able, hardworking administrator, whose religious convictions served Burghley's purpose well in setting a man of outstanding loyalty to the Queen, to himself and his son, in the midst of a remote Catholic community in North Yorkshire, which was thus policed for its acceptance of directives from the court. Hoby's

services to the Crown in a difficult part of England were acknowledged by his election to the Council of the North and his appointment as High Commissioner for the Province of York in 1601.³⁵ Hoby's perception of his public service in administering local justice was sanctified by his strictly moral religion.³⁶

There was even warm affection between Hoby and his reluctant bride, to judge from a letter of 1606 from Posthumus's cousin, Sir Francis Bacon:

'No man may better conceive the joys of a good wife than yourself, with whom I dare not compare.'³⁷

Evidence for an affectionate union is provided by Lady Hoby's diary for the years 1599-1605 which recorded joint discussion of their actions. Concord based upon common religious views was indicated by Margaret as well as Posthumus travelling to London, where they rented a house in Twickenham in order to attend the sermons and lectures of Nicholas Byfield, Vicar of the neighbouring parish of Isleworth, Middlesex. They were joint dedicatees of Byfield's Rule of Faith, whose publication they had encouraged.³⁸ On the grounds of their patronage of Byfield, their employment of a domestic chaplain of extreme views and their willingness to be dedicatees of The Rule of Faith, Sir Thomas Posthumus and Lady Margaret Hoby could now fairly be classified as subscribing to the Puritan ethos.³⁹ Their agreement to

provide further for the religious instruction of their neighbours was honoured after Margaret's death by Hoby's erection of a memorial chapel to his wife in Harewood Dale in 1634. When he died in 1640, he was buried:

'next vnto the dust of the body of my late most deare and onely wife, the Lady Margaret Hoby...with...the extraordinary affection that was betweene her and myselfe in our life tyme.' 40

Their Puritan status was further defined by the inscription tablet in the chapel in Harewood Dale, which omitted the traditional record of worldly achievements and instead dwelt upon their joint striving for 'godliness' in the district:

'When S^r Thomas Posthvmvs Hoby Knight and the Lady Margaret his late wife were vnited together in this world they both resolved to have a chappel erected for devine service for ye good of ye soules and bodys of ye Inhabitant^{es} dwellinge wth in Harewood dale and wth in very fewe monthes next after his said wives decease he did erect this Chapell in ye yeare 1634 And as they had both formerly resolved he hath by conveyance provided that his assigne...and his heires and assignes shall for ever find one sufficient preacher to preach GODS word, and to catechyse herein on every Lords day comonly called Sunday.' 41

Lady Hoby died on 4 September 1633 and was buried on 6 September in Hackness Church, where Hoby set up a monument to her on the south wall of the chancel, in the fashionable black and white contrast of a black tablet surrounded by white marble, with genealogical inscription and heraldry, again stating their 'mvtvall entire affection to both their extraordinary comfortes'.

42 Perhaps Burghley was not merely being optimistic

when he estimated that Posthumus 'wyll prove a good and corteous husbande'.⁴³ The friendship between Sir Thomas and Margaret rested upon their common religious views and upon Margaret's being a competent helpmeet. This was a marriage without physical infatuation of the kind approved by the church as not displacing God at the centre of devotion. The couple produced no children and local gossip had it that Sir Thomas was incapable of begetting any; this may have been true, but neither did Margaret conceive by either of her earlier marriages. Their bond of joint work explained the epitaph provided for Margaret's tomb. Temperamental compatibility had probably been calculated by Lady Russell who had cause to know her son to be assertive. His many law suits against his neighbours at Hackness, in Star Chamber and the Exchequer, in pursuit of his strict dignity, produced the admittedly biased comment from the Cholmleys, one of the aggrieved neighbours, that Sir Thomas was

'of such a nature, unless a man became his very slave, there was not any keepeing friendship, for he loved to carry all things after his own way and humour.'⁴⁴

Lady Russell provided wisely for her younger son in a situation which allowed him to 'exercise his energy and initiative and did not demand a courtly manner. She saved her less well endowed younger son from sliding down the social scale. Hoby died on 30 December 1640 at

the age of seventy-four after a happy domestic life and a useful career of local administration and as a Member of Parliament. Lawrence Stone noted correspondences between the 'driving enthusiasm for moral improvement' and its justification in conscientious administration, with which Sir Thomas complied. ⁴⁵

5.3 Elizabeth (1575-1600) and Anne Russell (1577-1639)

With the aim of advancing her daughters, Lady Russell entertained Queen Elizabeth on progress at Bisham Abbey on 28 August 1592, when she invited 'all the talent, the wit and distinction which she could convene for the entertainment of her royal mistress, who prolonged her stay at Bisham several days'. ⁴⁶ Sir Anthony and Sir Francis Bacon were invited by their Aunt to attend. ⁴⁷ The Queen travelled to Bisham by barge on the great highway of the Thames to be ushered from the riverside into the grounds to the accompaniment of an address by Pan with two attendant shepherdesses, parts which were probably played by Sir Edward Hoby and his half-sisters, the seventeen and fifteen year old Elizabeth and Anne Russell. The speech followed the arcadian conceit of rural fantasy and Pan is reported as declaiming:

'I yield all the flocks of these fields to your
highness
Green be the grass where you tread
Calm the water where you row
Sweet the air you breathe
Long the life that you live

Happy the people that you love
During your abode no theft shall be in the woods
In the fields no noise
In the valley no spies
Myself will keep all safe.
And here I break my pipe,
Which Apollo could never make me do,
And follow the ethereal sound
Which follows you. 48

An elaborate, ceremonious entertainment was thus set in train. The Queen again visited Bisham in the autumn of 1595 and this, along with Burghley's intercession, resulted in the Russell girls being placed in the privy chamber as Maids of Honour. 49 Lady Russell thus secured the careers of her daughters at the centre of court life.

In 1597 Lady Russell wrote to Secretary Cecil to engage her nephew's aid in persuading the Earl of Worcester of the advantages of a marriage between her elder daughter, Elizabeth, the Russell heiress, and his son and heir. 50 She offered a portion of £2,000 upon marriage, with the later transfer of land 51 and the political benefits for Worcester of a move away from the Earl of Essex into alignment with the Russells and Cecils. Lady Russell mentioned

'the virtue and honour of the parents joined with
the yong lord's best affections' 52

as her reasons for desiring the match, and her statement may have been true so far as it went, but there is no doubt that she also aimed to secure the earldom for her

daughter, for at the death of Worcester's heir on 28 January 1598 ⁵³, Lady Russell renewed negotiations for a match between her younger daughter Anne and his successor, Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert of Chepstow.

This match, 'the great marriage' as contemporaries called it, ⁵⁴ was the greatest public triumph of Lady Russell's career, and she did not hesitate to point out her success in these negotiations to Cecil when he had predicted her failure. ⁵⁵ Queen Elizabeth was notoriously reluctant to allow her Maids to marry and leave her service, and delayed her approval. In accordance with the decorum exhibited by her on other social occasions, Lady Russell did not ignore the Queen's reluctance, but went to court to petition her approbation. When Queen Elizabeth eventually agreed to the marriage, Lady Russell's action was rewarded by the Queen's indulgence. She sent the Russell girls to their mother's house in Blackfriars escorted by eighteen coach loads of the court nobility, met by Lady Russell with as much ceremony as she could command. She was supported by great figures from among her Russell kin, including George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. That day, 9 June 1600, Lady Russell dined the assembled nobility. ⁵⁶ On 16 June 1600, the marriage was celebrated which finally realised the aims of Lady Russell for a bond which would bring an earldom and a marquise into her

family. . Her daughter Anne became Lady Herbert, and later Countess of Worcester, wife to the fifth Earl and first Marquis. The match had a resonance for Lady Russell, for Sir Philip Hoby, who had been party to her first marriage, had come to court under the auspices of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester. Careers at court had allowed the servants to join the ranks of their masters in a later generation. State administration had become a means of upward social mobility.

The wedding was celebrated with great splendour as a means of impressing Lady Russell's magnificent performances upon the memories of her contemporaries. The Queen was met at the riverside at Blackfriars by the bride ⁵⁷, and carried thence to Lady Russell's house in a 'curious chair' by six knights. The bride was escorted to church by Lord Cobham and Lord Herbert of Cardiff and from it by the fifth Earl of Rutland and the third Earl of Cumberland. ⁵⁸ Lady Russell provided dinner for the guests in her house, herself presiding in one room, while the bride was hostess in another. In the evening the Queen and other guests moved to Lord Cobham's house in Blackfriars for festivities, culminating in a 'memorable masque of eight ladies', the Queen's Maids of Honour. They were garbed as the Muses and came dancing to seek the ninth muse in Queen Elizabeth, flattering the Queen as a source of

inspiration. Late Elizabethan masques were an important medium for artistic patronage, since they were elaborate theatrical spectacles using music, poetry, portable scenery flats, and machinery to raise and lower fantastically costumed figures. This masque is likely to have employed these dramatic props to enliven the dancing of court ladies on Mount Parnassus.

Two weeks later, on 1 July 1600, John Chamberlain's letter again showed the public interest in the two Russell girls. He wrote:

'Mistress Elizabeth Russell lies at the last cast, and is either dienge or dead. The Lady of Warwick and [Lady of] Cumberland have watched with her by turnes, and geve her over as past hope.' ⁵⁹

The attendance of the Countess of Warwick and the Countess of Cumberland, two of the greatest ladies in the land, who had intimate contact with the Queen, caught the public attention as did the rapid turn of the Russell wheel of fortune. These ladies paid homage to the potentially high status of Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord and Lady Russell. Sir Edward Hoby 'watched three nights with his sister' and asked Cecil to send a comforting word. ⁶⁰ Elizabeth must have been very sick when she danced at her sister's wedding ⁶¹ because, as predicted by Chamberlain, she succumbed to illness and died on 2 July 1600. ⁶² John Chamberlain further annotated public interest in the circumstances of John

Russell's heiress on 1 July 1600:

'If she go she will mend the new bride's
marriage' ⁶³

suggesting his knowledge of some awkwardness at the younger daughter's marrying the Worcester heir and using Lady Russell's resources to win a good match. Lady Russell bequeathed nothing to her daughter Anne in her Will ⁶⁴, so that the assumption is that Anne received her inheritance as dower at the time of her marriage. The marriage arrangement deliberately set aside primogeniture: Elizabeth's fatal sickness must have been apparent. Lady Russell could not sink her resources into a match which would have lost the portion and, at Elizabeth's death, the prospect of securing the earldom for her descendants. The 'child of the Abbey' was returned to her birthplace with her funeral in Westminster. The new bride paid for an extremely fine monument made of the most costly stones, with a sense of reparation about it. The design of the lovely seated figure representing Elizabeth in her Maid of Honour costume set on top of an accurate copy of a cylindrical Roman funerary altar, carries English Renaissance traits indicative of Lady Russell's classical interests. And her responsibility for the design is further suggested by the fact that Elizabeth's column required a corner within the protective iron railing which then surrounded the earlier monument to Lord Russell to be cut away to

accommodate it. ⁶⁵ Lady Russell would have had to permit the siting of the column within this space. To attest to the softer emotion of grief of Lady Russell as well as her determined commemoration of Elizabeth's status, there is her letter to her nephew, Sir Robert Cecil, in December 1600, declining his invitation to court, saying: "I there still come in tears in remembrance of her that is gone'. ⁶⁶ Maternal affection was mixed with Lady Russell's striving after higher status for her daughters.

This monument to Elizabeth Russell immediately became one of the acknowledged sights of a tour of Westminster Abbey. William Camden included his accolade on it in the next edition (1603) of his guide to the monuments to kings, queens and nobles buried there:

'Elizabetha Russell, filia eiusdem Iohannis, obiit 1600, 2 Julij, in cuius memoriam erecta columna cum imagine & inscriptione: DORMIT NON MORTUA EST'. ⁶⁷

CHAPTER 6 THE AGEING WIDOW

6.1 Her perception of herself

Perhaps it is inherent in the distinction between the objective and the subjective view of human behaviour, that Lady Russell's perception of herself was much more of a weak and wronged woman than she was generally accounted. Her subjective experience, as related in her letters, does not match the historical view of her character as interpreted, for example, by Dorothy Meads, editor of the journal of Lady Russell's daughter-in-law.

In 1585, following her second widowhood, there is evidence of Elizabeth Russell's loneliness. In the post script to her indignant and forceful letter arranging for Posthumus to enter Burghley's service, her tone changed from strong indignation at her son's action to near self-pity. She wrote:

Yf y^r Lordship here y^t I mary, think it not
strange: for I live without Comfort of eny living,
god and yourself excepted: all other I find more
Combrows, and dawngerows, then Comfortable. 1

There is no reason to think that this was an additional appeal to Burghley to admit Posthumus to his household, since there seems to have been no difficulty in entering him, but rather that her efforts to direct her son had made her realise how much she lacked the support of a husband. This expression of lonely discomfort by the

widow reflects well on the companionate nature of her two marriages. It shows that they were more than matches of mere religious, social, economic and political convenience. Her marriages had provided her with consorts whom she could trust. In her contemplated third marriage, she could not offer progeny with confidence as she had done in her earlier marriages, and this attempt to match herself with a man who would provide her with the comfort she received only from God and Burghley came to nothing.

As the widow of an Earl's heir, Lady Russell felt herself to be insufficiently honoured and provided for. On 9 January 1598, she wrote to Sir Robert Cecil asking for a lodging at court and signing herself: 'Your Aunt that ever deserved the best, E.R. Dowager'.² This request was repeated more insistently in August 1599 when, in addition to asking for a court lodging, she revealed her timorous female heart:

'myself a desolate widow without husband or friend to defend me or to take care of me...yet will I by the experience of this tribulation and discomfort, take me to a mischief and marry and be provided of some one that shall defend me, and take care for me living and to bury me, and not thus to live, no man caring for my soul and life, that hitherto all my days have lived in continual care for others...Your most desolate Aunt.'

3

Lady Russell expressed her frailty and fear of the loss of her identity through death, in the forceful language of the clever and competent woman which she was. These

requests signal her sense of diminished resources, probably as a result of her payment of her daughter's portion, which was not excessive by any means for the times, and her awareness that her career in guiding the family was nearly over. She had striven tenaciously to place all her children, Sir Edward Hoby, Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby, Elizabeth and Anne Russell, in positions of honour under Queen Elizabeth, and was exhibiting the tiredness of age. In explaining her patronage of commemorative sculpture, her sense of helplessness as an ageing widow in the face of the violence and indignity occasionally offered her, as well as her sense of neglect by the children whose good she had worked to win, have to be added to her desire to establish high status. This defensiveness against hurtful neglect does much to explain the vindication of her self-commemoration in the image of the heroic and pious widow surrounded by all her children on the tomb-ledger of her own monument. This effigy presents her own image of herself.

Pl.
16
Pl.
17

6.2 Her toughness

Whilst crying out in protest against her relations' lack of solicitude for her unprotected situation, Lady Russell could still operate effectively against opposition in support of her own identity and dignity,

and it was this tenacity which gave her a reputation for toughness. The record of her activities exists mainly in the letters which she wrote to her brother-in-law Burghley, and later to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, preserved in the Hatfield House archives. Because of the survival of that particular source, her letters showed her to be soliciting attention. Her letters showed her to be pursuing her interests through the Cecils, as would any of the courtiers seeking favours from the powerful Lord Treasurer and Secretary of State, had they her benefit of close relationship. Court society was built on the patronage system of favour and connection. She may have written tender letters to her daughters, but if so, these have not been preserved. The public view of Lady Russell is represented by Mead's comments:

'Her well-informed and lengthy epistles, with their frequent Latin tags, their wit, and their sarcasm...all bear witness to her intellectual ability and domineering imperiousness.' 4

In the clarity of her assertions her letters demonstrated an outspoken character. She wrote with wit of great figures at court, and in passages requiring the exercise of tact, she dropped into Latin, seemingly to avoid writing scurrilously in plain English.

In September 1599, when she wrote to Robert Cecil describing her state as desolate, she was on the

defensive on behalf of her jointure property. She refused him the site of Russell House on the Strand.

'for which I know you will hate me...the grief whereof, by sobbing, was the only cause of my sickness...but I must bear your wrath rather than suffer my dead husband to be wronged by suffering his name to be weeded out of Russell House while I breathe.' 5

Perhaps the pitiful tone of her letter was intended to mollify her nephew, whom Lady Russell seriously disobliged by refusing to surrender her rights over the palace on the Strand, currently leased to the Countess of Derby. Cecil had sought prior agreement to the sale from the two Russell girls and obtained it from Elizabeth at least. 6 Sir Robert also asked Sir Edward Hoby to visit his mother to persuade her to the sale, which Sir Edward attempted, without success. 7 Lady Russell's repeated reason for refusing was the retention of the name of Russell on this prestigious Thames-side site;

'not to give all due to my dead darling while I breathe.' 8

Her sentimental response was aimed at preserving her Russell identity. It was courageous of her to withstand family pressure on behalf of Cecil's demand. Cecil had acquired from Lady Russell's immediate neighbour on the Strand, and future son-in-law, Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, a narrow site there for £1,000. 9 This made Cecil's acquisition of the adjacent Russell House site highly desirable. He must have bought from Lord Herbert

in the expectation that his relatives would be willing to sell him their interest in Russell House. It was Cecil's pre-occupation with achieving an extended site on which to erect his London residence, after the loss of Burleigh House to his elder half-brother in 1598, to which Lady Russell alluded in her signature to another letter of September 1599:

'Your loving Aunt that pitieth not your poverty but wish you most well. E.R. Dowager.' ¹⁰

Because of Lady Russell's attitude, ¹¹ Cecil resorted to political moves to enable him to buy, first Durham Rents, evict Sir Walter Raleigh from Durham House, and then acquire the freehold of Durham House by Act of Parliament in 1605. By this legislation, Cecil also obtained permission to move the intervening alleyway of Ivy Lane to the west of his holding. This split site caused him to build from 1605-1608, later than he anticipated, a double palace called Great and Little Salisbury House. Her refusal to co-operate sets Lady Russell's sentiments and will on a very high scale of magnitude, because no one else had managed to withstand Cecil's persistently expansionist ambitions. If, as seems very likely, Russell House was Lady Russell's jointure property, she could only have accepted payment for her anticipated rents from it. Cecil must have obtained the agreement of the Earl of Bedford, current owner of the Russell estate, to the sale of the site,

which made Lady Russell's opposition the more remarkable. Russell House did not appear in Lady Russell's Will, so that at her death someone else had clearly established rights to it. Russell or Bedford House continued to be the property of the Earls of Bedford in the succeeding generation and was identified as such on maps of the Strand. Confirmation of ownership was given in Lady Anne Clifford's diary entry for the death of the fourth Earl on 9 May 1641 that Bedford House in the Strand remained the property of the Earls of Bedford.¹²

At this time (1599), Lady Russell owned an interest in Dacre House, which she set at a value exceeding £2,000¹³, an interest in Russell House, her house in the Blackfriars London, Bisham Abbey in Berkshire, the Keepership of Donnington Castle in Berkshire, and farmland in Gloucestershire. It is probable that she sold Dacre House, which vanished from her records in 1599, to meet her daughter's dower.

After a lifetime of legal skirmishes in support of her assumed rights, during which she showed herself to be effective, for instance taking legal measures to evict her tenant from that part of Eyford Pastures called Eyford Church Close,¹⁴ Lady Russell fought one further major legal battle. Queen Elizabeth had granted to Lady

Russell for the term of her life, the office of Keeper of the Castle of Donnington Berkshire, but subsequently, in 1601, settled the ownership of the Castle upon the Earl of Nottingham. When he attempted to take possession, Nottingham found that he could not dislodge Lady Russell, who opposed her right of custody to his of ownership, until, in 1603, he took advantage of her absence on a visit to her daughter Anne, to enter the Castle. On her return, Lady Russell was refused admittance. Rather than accept Nottingham's right of possession and enter as a guest, she sat in her coach outside the Castle wall all night, demanding to be acknowledged. She petitioned King James to restore her Keepership, but he urged her to submit her cause to the judges. She took her claim to the Court of Star Chamber, where the case was heard on 14 May 1606. On the eve of her hearing, she wrote to Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, asking him to attend and act as a judge, in spite of the fact that he had earlier refused to deal between the claimants.¹⁵ Lady Russell's hope that Cecil would uphold her cause put too much reliance upon family obligation. She should have realised that Salisbury could not openly weigh in against the defendant, Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham. Nottingham was the Lord Admiral, commander of the English fleet in 1588 against the Spanish Armada, with whom he had jointly engaged in eight years' of

privateering, with the cost of the ships shifted largely onto the Exchequer. ¹⁶ Lady Russell's failure to recognise this alignment sets her outside court intrigue and is also a measure of her isolation at this period.

The judges were about to pass sentence when Lady Russell interrupted the proceedings:

'desyred to be hearde, and after many denyales by the Courte, vyolenetely and wth great audacitie beganne a large discourse, and would not by any meanes be stayed nor interrupted but wente one for the space of halfe an howre or more.'

17

Her contention was that Queen Elizabeth had 'taken 1500 li and given her a promise that she would have the Castle'. The Court was reluctant to listen to this slur on the late Queen, and showed its disapproval:

'all the Courte and presence murmuringe and makinge great noyse...yet she wente one wthoute any chaunge, or any way abashed at all, in a very bould and stoute manner, withoute any shewe of any distemperature, or any loud speakinge, but shewing a very greate spirite and an vndaunted courage, or rather will, more than womanlike.'

18

Inevitably, the judges found against her suit, and the failure of her eloquence to move the Court and impress her hearers with her ability was compounded by the bitterness of the Earl of Nottingham's taunt, before the assembled Court:

'You coulde not be Lady Dowager, y^r husbande was never Earle.'

19

This report of proceedings allows that Lady Russell was spirited in defence of her assumed rights beyond what

the writer expected of a woman. There was admiration for her defence of her case as well as astonishment at her boldness in this account.

Lady Russell's response to this public slight upon her habitual use of the term 'Dowager' in her signature, may underlie the change from the preparatory commemorative painted image of the widow without insignia of rank, to the sculptural equivalent image, with her status emphasised by the Viscountess's coronet. Her design for her memorial must have been formulated soon after the wedding of her daughter in 1600, because it presents the family as it was then. The monument may have been in construction in the Southwark workshops from then until c.1606, if the coronet on the effigy of Lady Russell was a late addition as her response to the Star Chamber case and not part of the original image.

6.3 Elizabeth Cooke's religious views

From her father's example in promoting the reformed religion in the 1559 Parliament which debated the Supremacy Bill ²⁰ and from her youthful training, Elizabeth Cooke accepted the Protestant faith of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer of Strasburg, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1549. As a girl, Elizabeth Cooke translated from the Latin text, probably

as a Latin exercise, Bucer's conciliatory arguments on the eucharist.

She kept this manuscript for private circulation among family and friends until near the end of her life, when she printed it. Elizabeth's marriage to Thomas Hoby was, among other affinities, an alliance of intellectual approaches to religion for he, like her father, had been in Strasburg (in 1547-8) to learn theology from Bucer. The Cookes, the Hobys and the Russells belonged to the group of Englishmen who actively pursued knowledge of Reformation theology. As a young man, Thomas Hoby published his translation from the Latin of Bucer's Gratulation unto the Church of England ²¹, putting forward persuasive arguments for a non-celibate priesthood. Elizabeth was well matched with Sir Thomas Hoby in her commitment to reformed religion and in Latinity to read theology.

Placed by her second marriage among the Russells, Elizabeth added to her inheritance of theology, access to the learning and renowned theological library ²² of her father-in-law, the second Earl of Bedford. Elizabeth ranked alongside her sisters Mildred Lady Burghley and Anne Lady Bacon, her Russell sister-in-law Anne, Countess of Warwick, and her own daughter-in-law, Lady Margaret Hoby, as women of influence on English

religion.²³ These women exercised their power of patronage in introducing increasing numbers of learned preachers to their households and communities. Elizabeth helped Thomas Cartwright, who had been deprived of his Chair, Fellowship and pulpit at Cambridge 'on account of his opinions' that church organisation should be presbyterian, and she urged Burghley and Cecil to support him.²⁴ Patrick Collinson, in his study of The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, quoted Lady Russell's advocacy of individual presbyterians to be supported within existing social and legal structures.²⁵ Lady Russell did not see the political danger, as the Queen did, in increased lay control, and especially in the rejection of a jure divino episcopacy as a prop of the divinely appointed monarch.

Lady Russell passed on to her children her deep concern for religion. Sir Edward Hoby became disputatious, arguing the radical cause in a series of publications.²⁶ Her son Posthumus's marriage was recommended 'for God's cawse' by the Earl of Huntingdon²⁷, and celebrated with a Sermon²⁸, while his professional career was concerned with imposing his strict morality upon his neighbours in North Yorkshire.²⁹ The aggression of the sons' religious stance exceeded the stated desire of their mother for concord within the church.³⁰

'Surely it is a lamentable and horrible matter, that the thing which was first instituted for the confirmation of men's minds in love, and concord, and fellowship of the body of Christ, which is the Church, is now wrested to variance and confusion'.

31

In old age, Lady Russell prepared for printing her manuscript on A way of reconciliation in the Sacrament.

In publishing a book, Lady Russell was conscious of doing what few women dared do and justified acting against social norms.³² She claimed that Bucer had approved her translation; she feared further and unvetted translations being made into French and thence into English and she was fearful of losing her manuscript to borrowers.³³ Her translation presented Bucer's clear and cogent argument for conciliation of arguments on the nature of the eucharist, based upon given biblical texts and references to the Church Fathers. She wrote and printed a plea for peace and reconciliation in England:

'I beseech the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ to remove from the mindes of Pastours, Doctours, and Ministers of the Church, the greatest confusion of the Church.. [love of contentiousness] that is, desire to strive and rule, and dispose their minds to peace and brotherly concord in Christ, that they may not abuse this notable bond of love, delivered and commended by the Lord himself to his Church, wresting it to the nourishing of contentions and factions: and vouchsafe to inspire with his spirit the hearts of Princes and Magistrates, that they may above all things regard what doth most become the rule committed to their charge, and advance God's glory, and not respect what may grow to their coffers by this troublesome time, with the cruel vexation of their Subjects and common calamitie of their

commonweales.' 34

Mainstream Reformist doctrine thus remained her religious position throughout her life, and it was this point of view which she recommended to her surviving daughter in the book's dedication:

'Most virtuous and worthwhile daughter, even as from your first birth and cradle I ever was most careful, above any worldly thing, to have you sucke the perfect milke of sincere Religion; so willing to ende as I beganne, I have left to you, as my last Legacie, this Booke. A most precious Jewell to the comfort of your soule, being the woorke of a most good, learned and worthy man, made above fiftie yeares since in Germanie.' 35

Here is evidence for the prime importance which Lady Russell, in common with other women in the upper ranks of society, accorded her function in instructing her children in religion. 36

In her Will, dated 23 April 1609, Lady Russell provided for a preacher at Bisham:

'Twentie poundes yearlie to a godly and learned Preacher to preache everie Sabbath Daye throughe oute the yeare in Bisham church...as longe as he shall take paynes in preachinge there himselfe or in his absence supplyenge the same by some other learned Preacher.' 37

She also bequeathed money to 'the preacher at Blackfriars', her London residence. From these legacies, and the evidence of her actions, it is clear that the just interpretation of scripture was central to her piety. Although she supported individuals prominent in the presbyterian movement, she does not seem to have

seen the conflict between the reforming enthusiasm of presbyterians and the hierarchy of sovereign and bishops of anglican church government. She did not challenge the royal supremacy or wish the monarch's appointed bishops to do more than share their power with a body of learned ministers.

On her monuments, iconography told of earthly service to the Crown, as did the poses of Sir Thomas and Sir Philip Hoby, John, Lord Russell and Elizabeth Russell. Allegiance to God as the higher power was subsumed within the image of homage to the sovereign. In her self-commemoration, piety before God and honourable service to the Prince were made explicit by the images of her family in their robes of estate, kneeling around the widow who read of resurrection from the open Bible on the prayer desk.

6.4 Her arrangements for her own funeral and commemoration

She planned her funeral in 1603, making sure, in a letter to Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, that she correctly claimed the full entitlement of ceremony due to her rank:

'Good Mr Garter, I pray you as your leisure doth best serve you, set down advisedly and exactly, in every particular itself, the number of mourners due to my calling, being a Viscountess of Birth³⁸, with their charge of blacks, and the number of waiting-women for myself, and the women mourners, which, with the chief mourner and her³⁹ that shall bear the trayne, will be in number ten³⁹, beside waiting-women, pages and gentlemen-huishers: then I pray you what number of chief mourners, of Lords, Knights and gentlemen necessary with their charge, and how many servants for them, beside my preacher, physicians, lawyers; and XL [40] cloaks for my own men, then LXIII [63] women widows, the charges of the charge of the hearse, heralds and church. Good Mr Garter do it exactly; for I find forewarnings that bid me provide a pickaxe etc. So, with most friendly commendations to you, I rest Your old Mistress and Friend, Elizabeth Russell, Dowager, Donnington Castle, 4 October [1603].'

40

Her request to know 'charges' was not aimed at economy. She wanted confirmation of each category of mourner in her funeral procession and of how much black cloth she might provide for each: the more black cloth, the higher the status of the deceased. The heralds were to bear her insignia of rank. The hearse was a catafalque draped in black velvet and other black cloth, and decorated with the heraldic banners of the deceased. Eulogies to the deceased in verse were customarily pinned to the hearse. The church was draped in black cloth. All this was regulated by the College of Arms

who were concerned with displaying the exact status of the deceased. Her Will, dated 23 April 1609, provided for

'three score and tenn poore widdowes or soe many as I shalbe yeares old at the tyme of my deathe to everie of them a black gowne of twentye shillinge being three yards to each gowne and a kercher every kercher being of the price of sixe shillinge and eight pence' 41

or the customary maximum. The number of seventy widows, specifically associated with her age in 1609, confirms her year of birth as 1539, and the year of her letter to Garter King of Arms, when she claimed sixty-three widows in her procession, to be 1603. Both documents confirm her date of birth to be ten years later than readers of her letters and commentators on her life have hitherto believed.

In planning for a funeral involving the attendance of heralds and a formally marshalled procession of mourners, Lady Russell was attempting to impress her identity on the public memory of a younger generation. By 1603 and even more by the time of her death in 1609, she was acting against an established trend towards cheaper, simpler funerals. Lawrence Stone commented upon the declining number of heraldic funerals:

'After 1580 there was a noticeable reduction in the number of opulent funerals. Though some ancient families...continued to indulge in the old-style shows, though a few genuinely new men still tried to make their mark by the pomp of their interment, increasing numbers now deliberately tried to economise. The shift in attitude towards the

sumptuous funeral can be traced through the instructions given in aristocratic wills, those explicitly ordering a ceremony on the cheap rising from 17% in 1580-99 to 35% in 1610-39.' 42

The need to conserve the inheritance did not deter Lady Russell from providing for a dramatic exit from this world. She had earlier given evidence of her fear of loss of identity in death and her funeral was aimed at ensuring that her identity was published at her death. She planned a heraldic funeral in an era when even the greatest magnates were foreswearing such extravagance.⁴³ Her Will required a

'some of sixe and twentye hundred pounbes shallbe geven in and aboute my ffunerall w^{ch} I charge instructe and comannde to see performed orderly and decently' 44

What modification of ritual she intended by 'and without any vaine ostentacon or pomp' ⁴⁵ is hard to see. Six and twenty hundred pounds was a lot of money in absolute terms, and in relation to her reduced wealth, was very extravagant. By comparison, her nephew, first Earl of Salisbury, spent on his funeral in 1612, £1,977, of which £1,544 was for blacks ⁴⁶, and he was of higher rank and very much richer than Lady Russell.

From her letter to Garter Principal King of Arms, it is known that Lady Russell spent the final six years of her life with an heraldic funeral in mind. It is highly probable that she also planned and erected her funeral monument during these years, and designed it earlier,

because the design records the status of the family as it was in 1600. She sold a farm on 1 August 1604 ⁴⁷, which may have provided for the likely costs of her monument. Her Will, which made detailed provision for her funeral, made no provision for a tomb, the inference being that her tomb was already complete and the cost discharged by the time her Will was drawn up on 23 April 1609.

Associated with the tomb, as a preparatory image for the sculptural figure on the monument in Bisham, was a life-sized painted image of Lady Russell which still ¹⁵ hangs on the wall of the hall of Bisham Abbey. In the painting, she was costumed as a fashionable, turn-of-the-century widow, standing on a richly patterned turkey carpet beside a draped prayer desk. In her left hand she held a prayer book. The picture thus described her estate of pious widowhood. In the top left-hand corner of the picture was painted the Greek text of Psalm LV verse 22 and translates as:

'Cast thy burden upon the Lord'.

Ἐπιρρίψον ἐπὶ Κύριον τὴν μέγλην σου.

The psalm was a complaint about lack of support from one whom King David took to be 'a friend'. The verse continued:

'he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved'.

48

These sentiments were no doubt addressed to her

children, who would understand the allusion, given the immense biblical knowledge displayed by Edward and Posthumus. It was clear from her letters that she was disappointed in family response to her cares, and their lack of support for her litigation. It was entirely in character that she should castigate her family for their neglect of her interests in this intellectually forceful way.

The inscriptions on the front panels of her tomb were written in the first person and confirm that she erected her own monument. The sense of neglect which she expressed in letters from 1598, and in her annotation of her portrait c.1599, was repeated in her monument. Her own epitaphs in Latin and in Greek, told of her confident belief in a personal resurrection as an important element of her imagery. Although she provided blank inscription panels on her tomb for further commentary on the events of her career, the panels remained blank. Her children, the beneficiaries of her planning, did not care to publish her achievements. She died at Bisham and was buried there on 2 June 1609 ⁴⁹, in accordance with the dignified ceremonial which she had arranged.

Elizabeth Cooke had laboured in her youth to acquire the culture of the mind. She learned attitudes of obedience

to those of higher rank and expected deference from her children and those of lower rank. By her personal skills and the favourable position of her family, she achieved social advancement. Although she provided abundant evidence of her personal competence and assertive personality, she could not, as a woman alone, provide adequately for her dignified maintenance in comfort when death deprived her of the support of her husbands and their powerful connections. She was then forced to acknowledge her state as one of an ageing widow, whose demands were inconvenient for her relations and went unheeded, although she had advanced and enriched all her children.

CHAPTER 7 THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD (1590-1676)

7.1 Her Youth at the Court of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne of Denmark

Diaries were rarely kept in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period, and those which survived were generally written by men, often to chronicle for future reference purposes their travels around Europe. Such was Thomas Hoby's 'Travaile and Lief of me' ¹, which only obliquely revealed what he thought of events witnessed on his travels. Very few women kept diaries. Sara Heller Mendelson has located a total of twenty-three diaries or occasional memoirs which were written by women in the Stuart period, more than half of which were journals kept primarily for devotional purposes. ² Such was the spiritual autobiography of Lady Margaret Hoby. ³ Rare indeed was the diary kept by a woman which did not chart her progress to and deflections from spiritual enlightenment. Such a map of her social position and progress towards recognition of her rank in society was kept by the Lady Anne Clifford. Entries were made up to 1603 and again from January 1616 to December 1619. ⁴ The immediacy of this diary was extended by Lady Anne's later reflective inscriptions to the representations of herself and her relations in The Great Memorial Picture of 1646 in Appleby Castle. Further retrospective memories, aided by documentation, were incorporated into

the three volumes of her Great Books of Record, which she wrote herself and dictated to her officers from middle age onwards. ⁵

Such uniquely rich documentation for the life of one of the great noble women of England has attracted the attention of historians, and several good biographies of her have been written, the most detailed by George C Williamson. ⁶ She was treated as one of Wallace Notestein's Four Worthies. ⁷ A rather lighter account of her life was provided by local historian Martin Holmes. ⁸ These biographies present her as a heroine triumphing over almost unbelievable adversity to achieve the status of Grand Old Lady within her domains. R.T. Spence ⁹ took a cooler look at her judgement and actions. The folk memory, stimulated by these biographies, lectures at local historical societies, and exhibitions of her family portraits, keeps alive the memory of Lady Anne in what were Clifford territories. People living in Cumbria and Yorkshire in the 1980s speak of her almost as though she were alive today. Enormous consciousness of her personality, or the myth of her personality, survives. Although Lady Anne was the patron of a long series of nine commemorative monuments and one painted memorial, and although she repaired six castles (Appleby, Barden Tower, Brough, Brougham, Pendragon, Skipton), and seven churches or

chapels, (Appleby St Lawrence, Appleby Bongate, Brough, Brougham chapel, Mallerstang, Ninekirks Brougham, Skipton), the visual evidence for her actions has never been considered alongside the documentary evidence on her life.

Her enormous self-consciousness as daughter of an ancient noble family was demonstrated by her record of the circumstances of her conception.

'Begotten by my valient father, and conceived with child by my worthy mother, the first day of May in 1589 in the Lord Wharton's house in Channel Row [Cannon Row] in Westminster hard by the river of Thames. Ps 139.' 10

She was born on 30 January 1590 to Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, whose husband was George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. Her awareness of the high rank of both her parents gave her a consciousness of her exalted status. The Lady Anne's self-awareness led her to record in her diary a physical description of herself, again stressing her parentage:

'I was very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body, both for internal and external endowments, for never was there child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes were black, like my father and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's, the hair of my head was brown and very thick...with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple in my chin, like my father; full cheeks and round face like my mother, and an exquisite shape of body resembling my father. Isai.XL,6-8, I Peter I,24'. 11

The Lady Anne seemed well satisfied with her qualities as deriving equally from her parents and reflecting both their virtues. Such a positive view of her person and mentality denied the lingering medieval belief that women were biologically inferior to men and therefore disorderly thinkers unsuited to learning.¹² The Lady Anne's late sixteenth-century account of her appearance provided evidence for the existing Renaissance humanist attack on medieval belief in women's physiological imperfection and natural inferiority of intellect, and also marked the eroding of formal distance between parents and children¹³, as between superiors and inferiors. A poem addressed to her by her tutor, Samuel Daniel, c.1600-1601 when she was ten or so years old, endorsed her own sense of high destiny.

'To the Lady Anne Clifford

Unto the tender youth of those faire eies
 The light of judgement can arise but new;
 And yong the world appears t'a yong conceit
 Whilst thorow the vnacquainted faculties
 The late inuested soule doth rawly view
 Those objects which on that discretion wait.
 Yet you, that suche a faire advantage haue
 Both by your birth and happy pow'rs, t'outgo
 And be before your yeers, can fairly guess
 What hue of life holdes surest without staine;
 Hauing your well-wrought heart full furnish't so
 With all the images of worthiness

Such are your holy bounds, who must conuey,
 If God so please, the honourable bloud
 Of Clifford and of Russell, led aright,
 To many worthy stems, whose offspring may
 Looke backe with comfort, to haue had that good
 To spring from such a branch that grew s' vpright;
 Since nothing cheeres the heart of greatnesse
 more
 Than th' Ancestors faire glory gone before'.¹⁴

The final couplet acknowledged veneration of family as the motivating impulse in the projected actions of the young Lady Anne.

Lady Anne's pious mother, youngest daughter of the second Earl of Bedford, fulfilled her duty in providing Anne's early religious instruction in the Protestant religion. Her mother, in common with other highly educated noblewomen, considered this training, later gratefully recorded by Lady Anne, to be her most important responsibility to her child.¹⁵ Her knowledge of the scriptures was evident in the references in Lady Anne's writings. Her training emphasised her duty of obedience to those few who were higher up the social hierarchy.

The Lady Anne's elder brothers, successively the Lords Clifford, both died at the age of five years and eight months in December 1589 and May 1591, by which age it can be assumed they had embarked upon the classical education customary for noblemen, since four was widely recognised as the age at which formal instruction might usefully begin.¹⁶ Her brothers died before their tutors could have any direct influence upon Lady Anne's studies, but there is evidence that she desired to learn Latin, because her father forbade the language for her,

probably because of his personal belief in the superiority of things English and his consciousness of the high status which his daughter had to learn to grace with social accomplishments.¹⁷ By the final decade of the sixteenth century, when Lady Anne's education was set in train, the mid-century impulse in England towards classical training for women as well as for men, had faded with the growing assurance of the English language, although a knowledge of the classics in translation continued to be considered an adornment so long as that paragon of classical learning, Queen Elizabeth, survived. Women who were learned in Greek and Latin, earlier so much admired for their ability to converse at court, were now perceived as something of a threat to the male courtiers. James I similarly refused to allow his daughter Elizabeth to learn Latin, giving as his reason:

'To make women learned and foxes tame had the same effect: to make them more cunning.'¹⁸

Lady Anne's father arranged that she should be taught in the English language, using translations of many works, including Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's The Courtier, which praised highly skilled women and required modesty in their conversation with courtiers. Acquaintance with classical authors brought with it the culture of ancient Greece and Rome with all the patriarchal bias belonging to these societies to

reinforce sixteenth-century English patriarchy.¹⁹ Her father thus made sure she maintained English concerns in wide but not deep learning. During her father's almost perpetual absences from his family, it was her mother who supervised Anne's education. She had a governess, Mistress Anne Taylour, until she was thirteen and a tutor, the historian and poet Samuel Daniel. As was usual in the highest ranks of society, she received her formal intellectual training at home and her social training both at home and in visits to noble relations and the court. The Lady Anne later provided a pictorial representation of the range of her studies when she was fifteen years old, by the books annotating her activities at that age in The Great Memorial Picture.²⁰

Her academic studies were concerned mainly with those matters which would concern a great noblewoman in her private meditations and public actions. There was a great deal of theology and history represented on her ¹⁸bookshelves in The Great Memorial Picture. There were maps of England and of the world, used, no doubt, to follow her father's privateering adventures and voyages of exploration between 1586 and 1598 (on nine of which he sailed with his ships), to finance which the Earl sold off many of his ancestral estates. He 'had throwne his land into ye sea', he was reported as saying²¹,

spending in the region of £100,000 on his sea ventures.

22 There was a textbook on France, a herbal for guidance in concocting medications for her household, continuing her mother's fame in herbal lore, and books of poetry. Her tutor instilled in her a deep and lasting love of the English poets, in particular Chaucer, Spenser and Drayton. Spenser reinforced her sense of high personal destiny, for the content of much of his verse was aimed at surrounding his patrons with the divinity provided by classical allegory. Lady Anne was trained to a very English view of the world and of her own high station. Her education was later reflected in the epitaphs which she wrote entirely in English, and in the decoration of her tombs, which used English interpretations of classical motifs, and which continued to rely upon heraldic blazon.

Alongside the schooling of her intellect under Daniel, went the acquisition of accomplishments for her own pleasure and her part in courtly society. Lady Anne recorded her social skills in her diary and in the left
11 wing of her Great Memorial Picture. Her diary carried
28 frequent allusions to her 'work' of embroidering cushions, which she did to pass the time rather than for pleasure in an art form. The painting showed her as a skilled embroideress, in a period when Englishwomen were renowned for their embroidery, the accomplishment thus

being part of her identity as a gentlewoman. She was depicted also with an open music book and her bass viol. She learned to play the bass viol amongst her mother's family, her Aunt the Countess of Warwick, her cousins Frances Bouchier and Francis Russell, when she was thirteen, and she took lessons from a professional musician at Christmas 1603, when she was with these Russell relations:

'During our being there [North Hall] I used to wear my hair coloured velvet every day and learned to sing and play on the bass viol of Jack Jenkins, my Aunt's boy.' ²³

She had a dancing master called Stephens. ²⁴ She learned the art of intelligent and amusing conversation, on which Donne commended her. ²⁵ These accomplishments defined her status as high born, because they implied leisure. She worked at her embroidery and reading, so that she had no time to transgress the code of modesty which was deemed a key virtue. ²⁶

In her youth, the Lady Anne was often in the care of her mother's eldest sister, Anne, Countess of Warwick, chief Lady-in-waiting of Queen Elizabeth's bedchamber, who had served for nearly the entire length of the reign, and who was held in high esteem by the Queen. It was she who made Lady Anne intimate with Queen Elizabeth. The little girl felt that she was 'much beloved by that renowned Queen'. ²⁷ The intention was to place Anne in

the Queen's Privy Chamber when she was old enough ²⁸, but the Queen died when Anne was thirteen years old. The Lady Anne was disappointed to be considered too young to take a turn as a watcher at the royal lying-in-state, and too young to walk in the Queen's funeral procession as her mother and Aunt did, but she 'stood in the church at Westminster to see the solemnities performed'. ²⁹

Recorded in Lady Anne's diary between the ages of thirteen and fifteen were frequent meetings with her mother's Russell kin, in and around London, which cemented friendships between Lady Anne and her cousins Frances Bourchier and Francis Russell. ³⁰ These friendships were to be significant supports in Anne's life. Her activities helped define her as a young lady who was well aware of what was expected of her as the sole legitimate heir to a father of the ancient nobility of England.

7.2 The young heiress

Anne's sense of her identity was challenged at the age of fifteen, when her father died, leaving behind him personal debts in excess of £30,000. ³¹ The third Earl of Cumberland died in the Duchy House by the Savoy, on the Strand, his body was embalmed and taken to Yorkshire

where it was laid in the Clifford family vault in Skipton Church.³² No monument was then erected and the evidence suggests that such was his command, because:

'Finally, he desired that his body should be buried with as little charge as possible, as he would have nothing done which could give any hindrance to the payment of his debts.'³³

The Earl of Cumberland's instruction to avoid an opulent funeral in 1605 was one of many such in noble Wills which made Lady Russell's funeral in 1609 so costly by comparison (see Chapter 6.4). Cumberland willed his estates, in ignorance of the long-established general entail upon them, to his brother, Francis Clifford, the new Earl of Cumberland, 'for the preservation of his name and house'.³⁴ In recompense to Anne, her father bequeathed her £15,000, also to be raised from the estates.³⁵ Anne's mother refused to accept the Will and therefore Anne did not receive the £15,000 at that time from Cumberland. Anne continued to be a highly attractive match with expectations of receiving either a great deal of money or overturning the Will to inherit her father's lands. Because the Dowager Countess had acted to secure her jointure of all the third Earl's lands in Westmorland from the depleted Clifford estates by Act of Parliament in 1593, her jointure lands were confirmed on her for her lifetime. These included the castles of Appleby, Brougham, Brough and Pendragon, the latter two in ruins.³⁶ Her legal actions and appeals

to Cecil were public statements of the private separation, about 1600, of the wife from her husband, and of her dissociation with his management of the family estates. The separation of the Countess from the Earl fractured the unity of the noble household. From the beginning of the century, the Countess had lived apart from the third Earl, so that Anne was brought up by her mother and her mother's relations, with only occasional contact with her father.³⁷ Anne thought of herself as the Lady Anne Clifford, and is still identified with her paternal surname, but her mother's kin and connections were influential in forming her character, and it was to her mother's relations that she turned for advice concerning her property rights. Houlbrooke noted a pattern of maternal kin support as applying to women of property generally.³⁸ With the same determination to secure the inheritance, the Dowager Countess engaged in legal suits with her brother-in-law Francis Clifford, to overturn her husband's Will for her minor daughter's rights to the 'Baro: of Clifford, Westmorland and Vesey, and for the Sherifwick of that County, and for Skipton Castle [Yorkshire] and ye antient lands belonging to it'.³⁹ In her later Great Books of Record, Lady Anne described her mother's actions:

'my dear mother, out of her affectionate care for my good, caused me to chuse her my guardian, and then in my name she began to sue out a livery in the Court of Wards, for my right to all my father's

lands.....continued... during her life'. 40

The Dowager used advisers, one of whom was Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and antiquary, to collect documents attesting to the history of family titles ⁴¹, and employed men of business to defend her daughter's position. ⁴² Lawyers found the flaw in the third Earl's bequest, of the entail general made in the fifteenth century, which gave Anne a case.

'By industry and search of records of this kingdom, she brought to light the then unknown Title which her daughter had to the Ancient Baronies, Honors, and Lands of the Vipoints, Clifords and Veseyes'. 43

As Houlbrooke explained such causes for dispute:

'The common law rules of inheritance gave a man's daughter priority over his brother or nephew [but] these rules could be circumvented by a gift or tail male'. 44

Common law inheritance and the ancient entail were thus set against the gift in the third Earl's Will. A consideration for the judges in the suits was the continued unity of the estates and their identification with the Clifford family name, to which end the third Earl had devised his Will.

The mother and daughter 'by reason of those great suits in law... were... forced ... to go together from London down into Westmorland' ⁴⁵ to all four jointure castles in Westmorland, that is, Appleby, Brougham, Brough and Pendragon, in 1607, but were denied entrance to Skipton

Castle in Yorkshire, by the fourth Earl, which was not the Dowager's jointure property,

Lady Anne pursued her career at court as a great noble lady, whose blood and expectations were sufficient warranty for her place there. She had an affectionate relationship with Anne of Denmark, James's frivolous Queen. When Anne was seventeen, she danced in Ben Jonson's Masque of Beauty as one of Queen Anne's attendant ladies, and in February 1609, when she was nineteen, she took part at Whitehall in Jonson's Masque of Queens, dancing as Queen Berenice of Egypt, a role given her because of her very long hair. Berenice was characterized by Jonson as famous for the beauty of her hair, sacrificed as an offering for the safe return from a campaign of her husband, Ptolemy Euergetes.⁴⁶ For this masque, Lady Anne had a costume designed by Inigo Jones.⁴⁷ The drama of the masque aimed to clarify and publish the virtues of hierarchical order under the monarch.⁴⁸ Lady Anne's visits at the court of Queen Elizabeth as a girl, and her participation in the favourite entertainments of Queen Anne as a young woman, show her to have easy access to the inner court circle. That acceptability and the possibility that she would be recognised as her father's heir, through the ongoing suits instigated by her mother, made her an attractive match. If the Dowager's suits failed, Lady Anne would

still be a very wealthy bride through the third Earl's provision for her.

CHAPTER 8 MARRIAGE FOR AN HEIRESS

8.1 Lady Anne's first marriage

The alliance of the Clifford heiress with another family was a weighty matter and one which her father took seriously. Her father proposed a match in 1605, discussing it with Anne, and accepting that his estranged wife would have a principal role in consenting to the disposition of their daughter. The name of the husband under consideration is not known, although later recorded gossip suggested that this might be Robert Carr, later Earl of Somerset, James's great favourite.¹ The possible choice at such an elevated social level was restricted to a few noble families. Lady Anne spent the month of August 1605 with her father at Grafton, Northamptonshire, to discuss the proposal.² A letter which Anne wrote to her mother at Brougham in Westmorland, indicated that Anne did not favour the union and that she sought her mother's support in refusing it. Nevertheless, she wrote in terms of submission to a proposal which was endorsed by both parents, formally indicating her filial duty:

'I have had a great deal of talk with my Lord [father] about that matter you know of, for that match [therefore previously discussed], and my Lord hath promised me that there shall nothing pass for any match whatsoever, but that your consent should be asked as a chief matter. I beseech your Ladyship to pardon my boldness in writing to you thus rudely, and to let nobody know of these matters, though they be but trifling.

I rest, as I am bound by nature, love, and duty,
Your Ladyship's most obedient and dutiful daughter,
Anne Clifford.' 3

In distinction to the stereotype represented by the Duke in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream⁴, the Earl of Cumberland was shown to consult his wife and daughter on her disposition. Nothing came of Cumberland's negotiations for marriage, perhaps because the Countess upheld Anne's objection to the match, or perhaps because his death intervened to change the balance of relationship between the two families involved.

A further marriage proposal was recorded in a letter of 28 April 1607. Thomas Sackville, the much revered Lord Treasurer, and first Earl of Dorset, Knight of the Garter, wrote to Sir George Moore, Kt. stating the writer's desire for a marriage between the writer's grandson, Richard Sackville, and "that virtuous young lady the Lady Anne Clifford" and soliciting Sir George's kindly offices with the [Dowager] Countess of Cumberland for the arrangement of the match'.⁵

When the opportunity to implement these plans arose, Lady Anne married quickly and quietly, aged nineteen. This was the average age for marriages in which the young couple did not have to find their living. Elizabeth Cooke married at the same age. Lady Anne's

marriage was celebrated

'in the private house of the Dowager, in the Parish of St Peter le Poer of London, on 25 February 1609, between 8 and 11 a.m. without banns and without faculty or licence'.

The document recording these events was an Address by the Archbishop of Canterbury absolving them from excommunication and especially pardoning the parson.⁶ The location of the ceremony implied the Dowager's part in negotiations instigated by the Sackville family, with arrangements precipitated by the impending death of the bridegroom's father. Two days after the marriage, which his father did not attend⁷, Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1589-1624) became third Earl of Dorset, inheriting the title and estates of his father. This marriage to a man of her own age, or little older, of high rank and inherited wealth, maintained Lady Anne's privileged and honoured position at Court.

In 1610 she took part in Samuel Daniel's masque Tethys' Festival, to celebrate the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales. In this the Queen played Tethys, while Lady Anne took the part of a river nymph of the Aire, the river associated with her birthplace of Skipton in Airedale. It was the enthusiasm of Queen Anne and her court ladies for the masque which caused the flowering in England of this Italianate allegorical drama involving singing, dancing, acting and music.⁸ To

judge from the development of the masque form at the Jacobean Court, the amateur court ladies as well as the professionals, Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson and Samuel Daniel, played their parts more than adequately. Richard Sackville was a particular friend of Henry, Prince of Wales, and both he and Lady Anne participated in ceremonies associated with Prince Henry's installation in the Order of the Garter. ⁹

Lady Anne seems to have withdrawn from court soon after 1610, while her husband continued to participate exuberantly. According to the gossip and diarist, John Aubrey, whose facts were sometimes wrong, but who reliably recorded attitudes, the third Earl of Dorset lived 'in the greatest grandeur of any nobleman of his time'. ¹⁰ He went through his own fortune and quarrelled with his wife because she refused to settle her inheritance suits for cash. Of her marriage to Dorset, Lady Anne later wrote:

'With my first lord I had contradictions and crosses about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for money, which I never did nor never would consent unto; insomuch as the matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us, as also for his profuseness in consuming his estate and some other extravagancies of his'. ¹¹

Lady Anne did not accept her husband's instruction on how to conduct her inheritance claim in spite of having no separate legal identity. Her refusal to recognise

Dorset's control of their merged property was the basic cause of the "contention" which soured the alliance made for their common good. The marriage relationship was marred by Dorset's "other extravagancies", his pursuit of women somewhat below his rank, but renowned for their beauty: he maintained the Lady Venetia Stanley, who bore him two children ¹² and conducted a public liaison with Lady Penniston. ¹³ Lady Anne seems to have entered marriage with Dorset intent on providing conjugal love. Her attempts to maintain affectionate relations with him in spite of his worldly extravagance and philandering showed her to be trying to implement the wifely role expected of her. Her sadness at being left alone reflected the reality of the marital relationships experienced by many gentlewomen. Houlbrooke noted that

'marital disharmony and unhappiness were very widespread according to contemporary observers, indeed commoner than mutual affection or contentment in the view of some'. ¹⁴

Indeed, Lady Anne's experience of marriage to Dorset repeated in many respects her mother's marriage to the third Earl of Cumberland. After the first year at Court, Lady Anne lived largely separate from Dorset in his inherited fortified mansions of Greater or Lesser Dorset House in London, at 'Knole in Kent, or at Bolebroke in Sussex. She never seems to have lived at Buckhurst, Sussex, with its 65 feet long tennis court ¹⁵ where he spent much of his time. Their first child was

born at Great Dorset House in London on 2 July 1614, the important birth of the heir delayed beyond considerations of her maturity for childbearing, to allow the Earl to travel in France and the Low Countries, returning on 8 April 1612.¹⁶ The Dowager Countess of Cumberland came to her house in Austin Friars London from Brougham in Westmorland to be present at the birth, but missed the event by researching in the Tower of London for information to support the inheritance dispute, and delaying her departure until after the gates of the fortress were closed for the night.¹⁷ This daughter was christened Margaret on 30 July, taking the name of Lady Anne's mother. A month after the birth of the Lady Margaret Sackville, Lady Anne moved to Knole, and her mother left London to return, finally, to Brougham on 8 August 1614.

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Lady Anne not only recorded her mother's account of her own conception, she wrote in her diary the state of her alienation from or closeness to her own husband. In April 1617 she:

'did strive to give him as much content and assurance of my love as I could possibly'¹⁹

and this more affectionate relationship between husband and wife led to her recording that he 'lay in my chamber' on the 7 and 24 April 1617.²⁰ The latter

occasion resulted in the conception of a child. Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, the heir, was born at Knoles on 2 February 1618. He died at almost six months old and was later recorded in the inscription to the Great Memorial Picture of 1646. Two other sons were born to the Earl and Countess of Dorset in later years (c. May 1620 and 1621) but died soon after birth.²¹ Lady Anne has left no record of her grief at the latter two deaths, although she was a very fond mother to the Lady Margaret, and clearly did not lack the maternal feelings sometimes doubted of the mothers of dead infants in this period.²² A possible explanation for her emotional restraint is that she thought of these male infants as Dorset's heirs. Her later inscription to the Great Memorial Picture bears out this connection in her mind,²³ when she describes Dorset's burial as being 'with his son the little Lord Buckhurst (nearly six months old at death) and many of his Ancestors'.²³ Lady Anne, although committed by marriage to providing the Sackville succession, was emotionally more concerned with establishing her separate identity as the sole legitimate heir of the Cliffords.

The deaths of her newly born children was understandably less deeply felt than that of the six months' old son who had developed some personality and in whom hope was invested. For these reasons, these infant deaths were

not commemorated by her. Ralph Houlbrooke has noted this response in English society generally, attributing reaction to children's deaths as:

'grief tended to become more intense as the relationship between parent and child developed a new depth and fullness with the growth of the child's personality and its acquisition of particular skills, especially verbal communication'. 24

A further daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, was born at Knole on 6 October 1622. Five births from such estranged parents suggests that no form of contraception was attempted. In particular, four births between 1618 and 1622 points to a nurturing procedure of wet-nursing the three children who survived for a significant length of time, so that the contraceptive effect from frequent breastfeeding was not experienced by Lady Anne. This practice was normal among women who had the resources to choose and install in their own households morally acceptable wet-nurses to nurture their offspring. 25 The first child had a wet-nurse when Dorset removed Lady Margaret from her mother at less than two years old.

'Upon the 20 May 1616 went my Child to W Horsley with Mary Neville and Mrs Bathurst from London, Mary Hicken [wet-nurse] was with her, for still she lain in bed with Lady Margaret'. 26

Avoidance of a recognised method of contraception produced a state of almost perpetual pregnancy in the noblewomen whose frequent confinements Lady Anne noted in her early diary. 27 The hazard to their health of childbirth was undertaken as a fact of life to secure

the succession of noble families. Lady Anne's four close pregnancies from 1617 to 1621 demonstrate Dorset's growing anxiety to visit his wife often enough to ensure his lineage.

8.2 Dorset's conduct of the inheritance dispute

The Dowager claimed as her daughter's rightful inheritance from her father all the third Earl's lands, and not only those within Clifford ownership in the fourteenth century to which the general entail applied. The prospect of acquiring these estates had acted as a powerful incentive to Richard Sackville in forming the marriage alliance, for the union of their estates would greatly enhance his status. Nevertheless, he abandoned that means to greater social distinction after a few years of marriage to the heiress. By 1615, according to the inscription on the Great Memorial Picture, 'she began to be in troubles about the lands of hir Inheritance in the North'.²⁸ Her record referred to Dorset's impatience with lack of progress of the suits, whose continuation held up payment of the marriage portion, and his wish for Anne to accept instead the recompense willed her by the third Earl. Early in February [8th] 1616, Dorset sent for his wife to come up to London to settle with her uncle, the fourth Earl of Cumberland, her claim upon the Clifford estates but she

withstood Dorset's demands to realise her expectations for cash.²⁹ As well as her husband's insistence, pressure was applied to the twenty-six year old Lady Anne by various great figures at court.

'Upon the 16th [February 1616] my Lady Grantham and Mrs Newton came to see me. The next day (she told me) the Archbishop of Canterbury [George Abbott] would come to me and she persuaded me very earnestly to agree to this business which I took as a great argument of her love. My Coz. Russell [Francis, later fourth Earl of Bedford] came to me the same day and chid me and told me of all my faults and errors in this business; he made me weep bitterly; then I spoke a prayer of Owens and went to see my Lady Wotton at Whitehall where we walked five or six turns but spoke nothing of this business though her heart and mine were full of it - from thence I went to the Abbey at Westminster where I saw the Queen of Scots, her tomb and all the other tombs, and came home by water where I took an extreme cold'.³⁰

Her "errors" were bound up with her refusal to acknowledge the complexity of the legal situation and her "faults" were her intransigence in refusing to accept her father's provision for her of a very large sum of money which she could have taken and fallen in with social expectation and her husband's reasonable demand.

In seeking to nerve her resolution to hold out for her common law claim of priority in the ancestral lands, as the sole legitimate child of the owner³¹, Lady Anne visited the tombs at Westminster to see their evidence of the "faire glory of th'ancestors gone before", although, because of her ancestors' northern base, none

of her own family was commemorated there. Seeing monuments to the great of the kingdom steeled her spirit to fight on for recognition of her own identity. It was also at this stage in her conflict with social expectation that she went to Chenies to see the tomb she ^{ll}₂₃ had set up to her beloved cousin, the Lady Frances Bourchier (d.1612) ³², as though seeking the support of that childhood friendship for her present needs.

The next day, 17 February 1616, the Lady Anne, suffering from the cold, faced the ordeal of further persuasion to abandon her claim. Assembled in the Gallery of Great Dorset House were 'a great company of men' all intent upon making her see the argument for compromise. There was her cousin Russell, her husband's brother Edward Sackville, future fourth Earl of Dorset, Lord William Howard, her husband's uncle, whom her mother distrusted, Lord Roos, a number of others and the Primate of all England, Archbishop Abbott, who attempted to persuade her privately for an hour and a half. ³³ The following day she received a visit from Lord Francis Russell, future fourth Earl of Bedford, whom she noted as having been 'exceeding careful and kind' to her throughout the affair. ³⁴ This was the male cousin with whom she had been friendly as a child. Lady Anne temporised, saying that she could do nothing without her mother's agreement, and that she would give her answer by 22nd

March [1616]. She took the company's acceptance of this evasion as a mercy of God, as also the fact that her non-compliance had not parted her there and then from Dorset.³⁵ On 21 February 1616 Lady Anne and Dorset set off for the north, Dorset travelling as far as Lichfield, to seek the agreement of the Dowager Countess of Cumberland. Lady Anne arrived at Brougham Castle on 6 March 1616³⁶, accompanied by ten people, but deprived of women to attend on her except for Willoughby and Judith, who were servants.³⁷

'by reason of that intended arbitration of the four judges I went to Brougham Castle in Westmoreland to my dear mother, to ask her consent therin, but she would never be brought to submit or agree to it, being a woman of high and great spirit, in which denial she directed my good.'³⁸

With the aid of her mother, Lady Anne answered with a flat denial and left unsigned the papers prepared for her agreement to cash settlement.³⁹ This female alliance against persuasion by chief members of the patriarchal society was a matter of great anger. Furious at Lady Anne's failure to ratify the agreement, Dorset sent letters by his first cousin Charles Howard and Mr John Dudley, demanding the return to London of his coach, his horses and his servants. He did not want his disobedient wife. His servants were specifically told to return without her.⁴⁰ After years of contention over her furnishing of their common resources, this was his instruction for formal separation from his

obdurately non-contributing wife, because until she agreed to accept her father's Will, she could not receive even the £15,000 originally offered her. Lady Anne answered the threat of separation from Dorset with a note dated 1 April 1616:

'Memorandum that I, Anne, Countess of Dorset, sole daughter and heir to George, late Earl of Cumberland, doth take witness of all these gentlemen present, that I both desire and offer myself, to go up to London with my men and horses, but they have received a contrary commandment from my Lord. My husband will by no means consent nor permit me to go with them. Now my desire is that all the world may know that this stay of mine proceeds only from my husband's command, contrary to my consent or agreement, whereof I have gotten these names underwritten to testify the same.' 41

Here is the wife's reluctant recognition that she was answerable to the command of her husband. The Dowager Countess was not subject to Dorset's anger and counselled her daughter to meet further blame for desertion by returning to London immediately, and so

'Upon the 2nd [April 1616] I went after my folks in my Lady's [her mother's] coach, she bringing me a quarter of a mile in the way where she and I had a grievous and heavy parting. Most of the way I rid behind Mr. Hodgson'. 42

In spite of her seeking reconciliation with Dorset, without however, obeying his command to accept cash quittance for her lands and honours, the separation was formalised. On 1 May 1616,

'Rivers [Sir George Rivers] came from London...and brought me word that I should neither live at Knole or Bolebroke,... but in a Little House appointed for me'. 43

Upon the 3rd of May 1616 Dorset sent word that their

child of less than two years, was to be removed to Great Dorset House, London ⁴⁴, whither Lady Margaret Sackville went with a retinue of servants on 4th May. On the 9th May, Dorset wrote that he had determined that the child would live at Horsley with his sister Compton, apart from Lady Anne, ⁴⁵ where she went on 20 May, in spite of Lady Anne's letter beseeching Dorset to let the child live with her. ⁴⁶ In addition to being asked to leave Dorset's main properties, one of which was Lady Anne's agreed jointure house, and being separated from her child, Lady Anne was apprised of her status of discarded wife.

'Lord Dorset sent her the wedding ring, the same that the Lord Treasurer [Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, who had instigated their marriage] and my old lady were married with, and I sent my Lord the wedding ring that my Lord and I was married with'. ⁴⁷

Disobedience to her husband's demands to compound her claim for cash had a high cost in domestic unhappiness for Lady Anne, who however continued to live at Knole, and was described by her husband's favourite as being 'undone for ever' by her intransigence. ⁴⁸ The banishing of Lady Anne to a private existence, the removal of Lady Margaret Sackville from her mother, and the demand for return of the wedding ring, were all punishments which a masterful nobleman could inflict upon his erring wife, however noble her birth, in the paternalistic Jacobean society. These measures deprived

her of her status due to her as Countess of Dorset. At this time Lady Anne described her state as:

'having many times a sorrowful and heavy heart, and being condemned by most folks because I would not consent to the agreements, so I may truly say, I am like an owl in the desert'.⁴⁹

She was not reunited with 'the Child' until the end of that year, on 18 December 1616 in Dorset House,⁵⁰ after other events had persuaded Dorset that Lady Anne would be more tractable if the family were united. It is a fair inference that Mytens' portrait at Knole of the Lady Margaret Sackville at the age of about three, was commissioned by Lady Anne to celebrate her reunion with her daughter in late December 1616, and the return of Dorset's grandmother's ring on 4 August 1617.⁵¹ Prominent in this portrait is a ribbon hung from the shoulders to near the waist of the child, on which is hung an adult size ring, surely the restored wedding ring. This gives a probable date to the painting of August 1617, or about the time Mytens is supposed to have started work in England.

The event which persuaded Dorset of possible benefits to him of reunion with his wife and child, was the death on 24 May 1616 of the doughty Dowager Countess of Cumberland. Lady Cumberland's death in May made all the more remarkable her opposition to a compromise agreement in April, with her realisation that her daughter would

soon need to continue the fight alone. Six days after Lady Cumberland's death in Brougham Castle, her servant, Kendall, brought her Will to Lady Anne at Knole.⁵² The Will contained a clause that the Dowager's body was to be buried in the parish church of Alnwick in Northumberland where her brother Francis, Lord Russell (d.1585)⁵³ already lay buried. To Lady Anne, this request for burial beyond the Clifford lands was 'a sign that I should be dispossessed of the inheritance of my forefathers'.⁵⁴ The Lady Anne immediately set about implementing her mother's Will. She consulted Sir William Selby on the means of sending her mother's body to Alnwick and about the erection of a memorial chapel there.⁵⁵ The commemorative instinct was thus shown to be part of Lady Anne's first response to death. However, on the following day, 31 May 1616, Mr Woolrich, Lady Anne's own servant, who had been with her at Brougham, brought a codicil to the Will, directing that Lady Cumberland's body should be buried where 'her deare and noble sole daughter and heire, should think fitt'.⁵⁶ Lady Anne accordingly arranged for her mother's body to be embalmed,

'hir bowels and inner parts buried in the church called Nine Kirks, hard by where she died, and hir body...buryed in Apleby Church, in Westmerland, the 11th of July following...when hir sayd Mother was buryed [Anne] was present at hir Buriall in Aplyby Church, in Westmerland, for then she ley at Bromeham Castle, in that County.'

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It seems likely that Lady Anne commissioned the monument

to her mother from the London workshop of Max Colt (fl.1600-1641), in June 1616, soon after she decided upon Appleby St Lawrence as the burial place, as part of her arrangements for her mother's funeral. Lady Anne remained at Brougham until 9 December 1616, returning to Great Dorset House in London on 18 December to be reunited with Dorset and her daughter amidst a general and festive welcome. ⁵⁸

Lady Anne's interest in sculpture extended beyond her own use of it for commemoration. Her diary recorded for 27 December 1616 that after dining at Somerset House with Lady Gray, Lady Compton and Lady Fielding, Dorset joined them for a visit to Arundel House 'where I saw all the pictures and statues in the lower rooms'. ⁵⁹ What they saw was the beginning of the collection of the Arundel Marbles. ⁶⁰ Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), had newly set up a long sculpture gallery to display the Roman portrait statues and funerary altars which he had collected between 1613 and 1615 in Rome, augmented in 1616 by the donated collection of Lord Roos.

Lady Anne's interest lay in the fashionable renown of Arundel's enterprise, and part of her pleasure, and probable reason for recording the event, was the appearance with her in public of her earlier estranged

husband. . Nevertheless, she saw classical sculpture and noted that the style was admired. In these circumstances, it might be expected that she would adopt a deliberately classical style for her own sculptural commissions, and to some extent she did. Her next monument, erected in 1620 to Edmund Spenser, was commissioned from the sculptor Nicholas Stone (1583-1647), England's most correctly classical tomb builder, who supplied a non-figurative design. Her later London-commissioned monument to Samuel Daniel was for the 'scholar' type of classically draped seventeenth century busts. Unlike Spenser's, this showed no direct knowledge of classical sculpture. Although Lady Anne had seen and admired genuine Roman sculpture, her education was not adequate to her retaining such images sufficiently well to instruct sculptors on the visual representation of a classical programme. She relied upon their knowledge of the idiom. Lady Anne's monuments showed her to be less imbued with the classical spirit than the earlier monuments of Elizabeth Cooke, who had probably seen only engravings of Roman sculpture and architecture. The classical idiom was less important to Lady Anne, only a matter of fashion, whereas for the learned Elizabeth Cooke, it formed part of the definition of herself.

After costly litigation begun by the Dowager Countess of

Cumberland in 1605 against the Earl of Cumberland, King James intervened in the manner of a medieval monarch compelling his warring nobles to settle their disputes, first on 9 June 1607,

'to shew how much he was bent against my blessed mother and myself in my uncle's behalf, he then gave the reversion of all those lands in Westmoreland and Craven out of the Crown by patent to my uncle Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and to his heirs for ever, after they had continued in the Crown from the time they were given by King John and King Edward the second to my ancestors, till the death of my father the grant of which land out of the Crown to my said uncle and his heirs was done meerly to defeat me, as hoping to get my hand to release it to the heirs male.' 61

Lady Anne also claimed that her Cousin Henry purposely married on 25 July 1610, Frances Cecil, daughter of Robert, Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England,

'that by the power and greatness of his [Robert Cecil] the lands of mine inheritance might be wrested and kept by strong hand from me ' 62

Again, on 19 November 1616 the King intervened between Dorset and Anne's cousin Henry, Lord Clifford, and later between the Earl and Countess of Dorset. 63 Against this background of intimidation, on the 18th January 1617, Lady Anne was summoned to appear before the King at Whitehall Palace for the settlement of her suit against Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland and his son Henry, Lord Clifford. The Queen then warned her not to trust King James. 64 When they stood in the presence of the King, James put everyone but the Earl and Countess

of Dorset out of the room, and with them kneeling by his chair, he appealed to them to be at peace and to leave the whole matter in his hands. ⁶⁵ The King thus set up a tableau of himself as a great law giver. King James spoke of himself in the Court of Star Chamber at Whitehall as a Solomon deciding wisely and impartially between his subjects. Further, he was later, by his heir Charles I, portrayed above the throne in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, as seated on the throne of Solomon between the twisted pillars of the solomonic temple, dispensing judgement. In this situation having the force of drama, Dorset of course consented, but Lady Anne replied that she would not give up her inheritance while she lived. The King tried persuasion and then threats. He commanded the Earl and Countess to attend him on 20th January 1617 to hear his judgement.

On that occasion, the King made no intimate appeal to her. There were present, in addition to Lady Anne and Dorset, her uncle Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland, his son Henry, subsequently fifth Earl of Cumberland, and various great figures of the court, including the Earl of Montgomery ('speaking much against me' ⁶⁶), brother of the man who later became her second husband, the Lord Chief Justice and the King's Solicitor. The King asked the four principals (Lady Anne, her husband, and her uncle and cousin) if they would accept his

judgement. Again, Lady Anne refused to accept the King's jurisdiction 'at which the King grew in a great chuff'.⁶⁷ At this tense juncture, Dorset had the presence of mind to escort Lady Anne quickly from the King's Chamber.⁶⁸ In repeatedly refusing the King's judgement, Lady Anne risked incurring the enmity of the King, upon whose goodwill Dorset's standing at court depended.

Dorset later emerged from the room to tell her that, since she would not give her consent, agreement had been reached without her.⁶⁹ Settlement reached by Dorset and Cumberland was that the entail made in the fifteenth century by which she was heiress to lands in Clifford possession then was judged invalid and her common law claim as sole heir to her father was set aside. The Clifford estates remained Cumberland's, as disposed in the third Earl's Will, with succession to his heirs male. In the unlikely event of Cumberland's succession failing, Lady Anne was to inherit.⁷⁰ Recompense from the estates for Lady Anne was increased by £2,000 from the £15,000 willed by her father to £17,000. Lady Anne would not recognise the legality of the King's Award and never relinquished her claim to her father's lands. Her behaviour was judged as socially foolish and stubborn by most people⁷¹, but she defined her nobility by her hereditary honour. Her spirited stance for what

she believed to be her inalienable rights showed the strength of will of a woman who opposed her assertion of Clifford identity to all the persuasions which society could bring to bear upon her.

Lady Anne recorded in her diary her response to the day's experience:

'I was led miraculously by God's providence, and next to that I trust all my good to the worth and nobleness of my Lord's disposition for neither I nor anybody else thought I should have passed over this day so well as I have done'. 72

She later described her perception of these events as:

'The 18 and 20 of January 1617... I was brought before King James in Whitehall to give my consent to the award, which he then intended to make, and did afterwards perform, concerning all the lands of mine inheritance; which I utterly refused, and was thereby afterwards brought to many and great troubles. But notwithstanding my refusal... my said lord signed and sealed that award in Great Dorsett House by which he resigned to Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and Henry, Lord Clifford, his son, and to their heirs male, all his right in the lands of mine inheritance; which brought many troubles upon me, the most part of the time after that I lived his wife'. 73

The agreement recognised that her possessions, and therefore the cash quittance, belonged to her husband. Dorset, not Lady Anne, received the £17,000 recompense from Cumberland. At the time of the King's award, Dorset kept her short of cash to force her to accept as final this decision about her Clifford estates. He cancelled her jointure of the promised third of his living ⁷⁴ in June 1617 to remove her future maintenance

from his Sackville estates. This action showed the pressure which Dorset could bring to bear upon his wife, and her determination to withstand any amount of deprivation, rather than surrender her Clifford identity.

The 'spiritual crises' which she suffered for several years from 1615 may have been caused, as Dr Spence has pointed out, by the intolerable conflict of loyalties, the imperatives of her Clifford lineage clashing with the required subservience to the King as judge, and obedience to her husband.⁷⁵ Lady Anne's state of mind in 1617 was conveyed by her diary entries:

She 'spent much of the next day in tears, paying a visit to Withyam to see the tomb of her husband's grand father [Thomas Sackville, Lord Treasurer, first Earl of Dorset, Knight of the Garter, who had died suddenly at the Council Chamber at Whitehall on 19 April 1608], and going right down into the vault itself' ⁷⁶

repeating her earlier contemplation of tombs of the admired nobility to strengthen her resolve to be one of them.

'and on Whit Sunday, 8 June 1617 'We all went to Church, but my eyes were so blubbered with weeping that I could scarce look up'. ⁷⁷

The solace of contemplation of ancestors, was again the subject of her comment in November 1617 when she went to Austin Friars in London, where she had lived with her mother at the time of Queen Elizabeth's death: 'I wept extremely to remember my dear and blessed mother. I was

in the 'chamber where I was married'. ⁷⁸

The stiffening of her resolve provided by this contemplation of her mother's arrangements for her marriage into the house of Lord Treasurer Sackville, was at one with the impulse to commemorate her mother, whose monument was in course of building in London at ^{ll.}₂₄ this time. Neither Lady Anne nor her mother ever questioned the assumptions of the hierarchical society. She and her mother fought for her inheritance on the premise of hierarchy. They sought to establish and uphold her inalienable right as the sole legitimate heir general to the Clifford properties. ⁷⁹ They sought to implement established ancient law, not to overturn it. Lady Anne's bitterness at having her suits settled by the male monarch in the interests of her male relations, was not directed at male usurpation of her property, but at the unfairness of their failure to recognise her as the sole heir to her father, as she repeatedly described herself. Both Lady Anne and Elizabeth Cooke believed somewhat sceptically in the law's provision of justice for grievances brought before the judges. The inbuilt bias in favour of male owners of property lost for Lady Anne her father's property, and for Elizabeth Cooke her Castle of Donnington. ⁸⁰ These judgements were reached through the institution of the law, which was controlled by men of property, and confirmed the patriarchal

ordering of society as the basis of social and political power.

Francis Russell, her cousin, told her that Dorset had cancelled her jointure on 25 May 1617 of 'the thirds of his living' promised on 1 July 1616, when she rode north to attend to her mother's funeral and property settlement.⁸¹ Her response was to write in protest to Dorset and to record in her diary:

'By these proceedings I may see how much my Lord is offended with me and that my enemies have the upper hand of me. I am resolved to take all patiently, casting all my care upon God.'⁸²

In the event, Dorset did not reinstate her jointure until 1623, the year before he died.

'On the 10th day of July 1623 did my said lord, in Great Dorsett House, he being then very sickly, make over to me my jointure of those lands in Sussex, part whereof I now enjoy, and part thereof I have assigned and made over to my two daughters.'⁸³

As with Elizabeth Cooke, God was seen as the ultimate source of succour by Lady Anne. Both had to accept their status as subordinate to the men who dispensed their fates. It does not seem to have troubled their comfort-seeking souls that their concept of God was of a king-like male at the peak of the hierarchy who might also be expected to uphold patriarchal values. They expected the divinity to know the fairness of their causes and judge accordingly. For closer counsel, Lady Anne had a chaplain, Mr Ran, attached to her household.

He read the scriptures with her and administered the eucharist to the household, but also provided moral guidance and advice to reconcile the spirit of the deeply troubled mistress of Knole to her wifely duty. ⁸⁴

8.3 Tensions between the life of the individual woman and her social setting

Lady Anne had witnessed her mother's efforts to secure her living from her estranged husband, and experienced a like situation in her own marriage to Dorset. Worst of all, she could see this pattern continuing for her daughter, the Lady Margaret Sackville.

'Sad to see things go so ill with me and fearing my Lord would give all his land away from the Child', and her fears justified: 'The 2nd [July 1617] I received a letter from Sir George Rivers who sent me word that my Lord was setting his land upon his Brother.' ⁸⁵

Heads of households could dispose of their living and sell their assets as they pleased until the gradual adoption of measures to prevent their dispersal of family resources resulted in the strict settlements adopted by most by the 1640s. Dorset, like Lady Anne's father, depleted his inheritance to live in style at court. The writer John Aubrey repeated his admiring report on Dorset. 'In those days Richard Earl of Dorset (grandson and heir to the Lord Treasurer) lived in the greatest splendour of any nobleman of England'. Aubrey went on to say that 'among other pleasures that he enjoyed, Venus was not the least'. ⁸⁶

The tension of the uneasy relationship between husband and wife persisted, with Lady Anne censuring Dorset's extravagancies. Dorset's spending power was calculated by Lawrence Stone as the £17,000 King's Award (paid in full to him by 23 June 1619), an income of about £6,000 a year, plus £80,000 from land sales.⁸⁷ She still felt obliged to fulfil the role of consort: 'This night my Lord should have lain with me but he and I fell out about matters'.⁸⁸ Her efforts were summarised by her in her diary:

'Sometimes I had fair words from him and sometimes foul, but I took all patiently.'⁸⁹

As a written gloss upon her marriage, her diary shows the efforts she made to fulfil the role expected of her. For instance, she several times attempted to persuade Dorset to call in at Knole in moving between his other residences in London and the South of England and, when he was ill, she vacated the marital chamber for his greater comfort.

'Upon the 11th [April 1617] my Lord was very ill this day and could not sleep so that I lay on a pallet...This night [12th] I went into Judith's chamber where I mean to continue till my Lord is better.'⁹⁰

For Dorset, getting along with his serious minded wife must have been as difficult as it was for her, but it was an effort which he was not obliged to make. The husband and wife mostly pursued their separate pleasures with different companions. Dorset's missions for the

sovereign. took him away from his wife and he participated in the entertainments of the court or went hunting with merry bands of nobles from estate to estate. Lady Anne's pleasures lay more at home in visiting and receiving visits from other noble ladies, and in playing companionable games like glecko [a three-handed card game] and barley brake [played by three couples]. Her solitary time, of which she had too much, was spent in embroidering cushions, in watching the progress of her child, and in having books read to her. She did not derive satisfaction from directing her husband's household servants, as did, for example, the Lady Margaret Hoby (1571-1633), and probably the highly directorial Elizabeth Cooke (1539-1609). High ranking women spent much of their time supervising servants, performing a lengthy devotional routine, overseeing their children's education, visiting and receiving visitors. ⁹¹

Both patrons fulfilled the duties which befitted their rank in community activities and participated in royal ceremonial. Anne, Countess of Dorset, came up to London to take part in the obsequies for the death of Queen Anne, who died on 2 March 1619 at Hampton Court Palace. She took turns in watching by the corpse at Somerset House and on 13 May 1619 she walked in the funeral procession to Westminster Abbey paired with Lady

Lincoln; wearing robes of sixteen yards of black cloth as the official allowance of mourning. The Earls of Dorset and Cumberland were also in the procession, the latter carrying one of the banners.⁹² These duties were undertaken solemnly by Lady Anne, for they accorded well with her ancestral reverence. She took the part which had been denied to her as a young girl at the time of Queen Elizabeth's death.

Soon after the elaborate ceremonial was completed, on 15 May:

'My Lord brought me to Westminster Abbey where I stayed to see the tombs and the place where the Queen was buried in an angle in Henry VII's Chapel.'⁹³

This visit, which was not associated with her duties, showed her genuine interest in honouring the dead and the commemoration of their lives. Again contemplation of monuments, including the monuments set up by Elizabeth Cooke to Lord John and Elizabeth Russell in St Edmund's Chapel, seems to have solaced her troubled spirit and comforted her for her largely solitary life. It seems highly likely that it was this visit to London and to Westminster which determined her to set up a monument in the Abbey to the poet Spenser. The monument would not need a long time building and it was erected near his grave in 1620. It was placed near Chaucer's tomb, Chaucer being her other favourite reading.

'If I had not excellent Chaucer's book here to

comfort me, I were in a pitiful case, having so many troubles as I have here; but when I read in that I scorn and make light of them all, and a little part of his bounteous spirit infuses itself in me.' 94

Those literary works soothed her loneliness at Knole and maintained her perception of herself as the scion of the house of Clifford rather than the neglected wife of Dorset.

Dorset died at the age of thirty-five, in Great Dorset House, London, on Easter Sunday, 28 March 1624, and was buried unopened at Withyham on 7 April 1624, about noon, in the vault alongside his ancestors and his six months old son. 95 At the time of his death, Lady Anne was not with him because her elder daughter was seriously ill with smallpox at Knole and Lady Anne caught the disease from her daughter. 96 A monument was erected by Dorset's executors in accordance with his Will:

'And my desire and will is that whensoever I dye that my bodye may be intombed att Withyam in Sussex amongst myne Auncestors and that a tomb may be made for myself and my most deerlye beloved wife the Ladye Anne Clifford. The said tomb to be made in such sorte and manner as my most honourable good frend Sir George Rivers of Chafford...shall think fitt and conveynant. And they to bestowe upon the same the some of one thowsand pounds or thereabouts'. 97

There is irony in the Earl's anticipation that his 'most deerlye beloved wife' would lie alongside him in effigy for all eternity. It is worth noting that he did not expect his wife to set up a monument for him, although

his charge to Rivers to do so may have been given in the belief that she also was dying, as she says she so nearly did.⁹⁸ Against her temporary inability to be active should be set her ability to assume this duty upon her recovery from smallpox, and her deliberate protest that no tomb would be needed for her at Withyam, nor space for her effigy on a tomb, nor inscription of her name, since she was determined to be buried on her northern estates.⁹⁹ Her avoidance of having herself commemorated with Dorset was aimed at her wish to be remembered as a separate identity. A sumptuous memorial to Dorset was erected, but it is not now possible to determine whether Lady Anne's wish to be excluded from it was heeded, because it was destroyed by fire at 2.00 a.m. on 16 June 1663, described by an eyewitness:

'I was much troubled to see soo fine a fabrick,
and such stately monuments (which were an honnour
to your family) soo suddainlye turned to lime and
ashes'.¹⁰⁰

Lady Anne's dissociation from her husband in so formal a family matter as his tomb was her public denial of the unity of Dorset's household. All the strain of her rebuttal of his authority as the head of the household to determine without criticism the garnering or the spending of resources (including hers) were here expressed. Her long spiritual malaise, recorded as bouts of misery in her diary, which were solaced by the literary works of Spenser and Daniel, whom she did

commemorate, also expressed the tensions of her unease at denial of the authority of the head of her household. The household, not the individual, was the economic and political constituent unit of society. 101

'It was ...their positions as heads of households...where economic, social and political power was lodged, that gave men dominance over women'. 102

She believed in the social values of her hierarchical society, but her unusual circumstances caused her to challenge male dominance. Dorset's attempts to discipline her into obedience by suspending her jointure, removing their daughter from her care and hedging her movements, were only minimally directed by personal malice. Much more they represented his efforts to uphold his position as head of the house and to preserve the male-headed family unit. Lady Anne's persistent determination to act as an individual in pursuit of her rights as the sole heir to the Clifford estates, questioned the overlordship of the head of her household and threatened the unity of the Sackville family as much or more than Dorset's socially sanctioned sexual and financial extravagance. In acting as she did, Lady Anne unwittingly threatened the structure of society in its basic assumption that the male head of the noble household was better fitted to direct the fortunes of the family unit than the wife.

The seat of Lady Anne's unhappiness in this union was her apprehension that her interests and actions as an individual did not conform to the culturally determined role of wife to the noble Earl of Dorset. Her refusal to fit the pattern of social expectations rather than personal animosity to her husband was the cause of her misery. Practically the last entry in her early diary, for 15 December 1619, testifies to her independence as the cause for contention and her wretchedness at the dispute which stood between them.

'After supper my Lord and I had a great falling out, he saying that, if ever my land came to me I should assure it as he would have me' 103

In later years, from the long perspective on life of The Great Memorial Picture, Lady Anne could describe Dorset in terms of admiration which achieved great objectivity:

'He was by nature of a just minde, sweet disposition, and very valliant in his own p~son, and attayned to be a great scholler for his ranke, when he lived at the University in Oxford. He was so bountifull to souldiers, schollers, and others, which were in distress that thereby he much emparied his Estate. He was a zealous Patriot to this Kingdome, and the onely builder and one of the Cheefe Founders of the Hospitall at East Grinstead in Sussex [Sackville College] and truly religious in his latter tymes.' 104

She could describe him thus because by then he had become a decorative appendage on her monument to her independent life, rather than she appear as an adjunct to his nobility on his tomb. His fame at court and conspicuous expenditure had come to enhance her youth with a flourish rather than, as Dorset intended, her

estates and ancient lineage increase in value his own rank. Death and her commemorative practices had made him her vassal.

CHAPTER 9 WIDOWHOOD AND REMARRIAGE

9.1 The widowhood of Lady Anne

Once widowed, Lady Anne determined to remain a widow. The state of widowhood suited her temperament and she counted her smallpox-pitted face a disqualifier from the marriage market. She provided an insight into the link between marriage and beauty in her record, in May 1624, of the illness which she suffered at the time of Dorset's death.

'I had the smallpox so extremely and violently that I was at death's door and little hope of life in me... which disease did so martyr my face, that it confirmed more and more my mind never to marry again.'

1

She had earlier recorded her jointure as enhanced to one third of Dorset's income so that, if that was made over to her from the Sackville estates, she became a wealthy widow. A disadvantage of remarriage was that she might lose legal control of income that had come to her from her husband. She could set up a trust to ensure to her a separate estate, but she could not be sure that such a trust would be acceptable to a future noble husband.

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Immediately upon recovering from the smallpox infection, she quitted Knole and took her daughters to Chenies, to her mother's Russell kin, for the protection they afforded herself, an heiress and a widow, and the mother

of two heiresses. She did not often stay in her chief jointure house of Bolbroke Castle in Sussex nor Little Dorset House in London,³

She and her daughters were still at Chenies at the time of the death of King James. Her attachment to Chenies declared her identity to be bound up with her parents rather than with her husband. Her father had been brought up at Chenies as a ward of the second Earl of Bedford in order to marry a daughter of the house, the Lady Margaret Russell.⁴ She felt that her husband's heir, his brother, Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset, K.G. 'continued still to be a powerful enemy against me'.⁵ She had cause to distrust him, for he had opposed her in her inheritance dispute, and for the continuing reason that her jointure property diminished his estate so long as she lived.

Although King James had arbitrated compensation for the loss of her inheritance between Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, and Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset, Lady Anne had adamantly refused the King's Award. Nor did she consider the argument ended with the payment to Dorset of the sum awarded. While she was married to Dorset, she could do no more about it than weep, but as a widow she was able to launch new lawsuits aimed at overturning the Award. Even allowing for her

legal freedom of action as a widow, it was a boldly independent venture for a woman to pursue, with professional advice, a matter thus settled.

'In August 1628 were the first claims made by way of law and advice of my counsel, after the award aforementioned, to maintain my right in the lands of mine inheritance in Craven and Westmoreland, I then lying with both my daughters in Cheynes in Buckinghamshire'. 6

Because she was living at Chenies, it might be assumed that her Russell cousin supported her claim, even although he had counselled her to accept the King's Award in 1617. Francis Russell may also have counselled her to marry a man with influence over the King.

In 1630 she sought to reinforce her suit by enlisting the interested support of one of the most influential men at the court of Charles I, by marrying him. This was a political alliance, because the man possessed all the characteristics which Lady Anne had told her Secretary, George Sedgewick, would disqualify a prospective husband; he had children of his own by an earlier marriage, he was a courtier, a curser, and a spendthrift.

'He was no scholar at all to speak of... yet he was of a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, and of a discerning spirit, but extremely cholerick by nature... He was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England in all respects.' 7

Lady Anne hoped to overturn her father's Will and James's judgement through the influence of this great

nobleman. She must still have been resident at Chenies in 1630 because it was in St. Michael's Church, Chenies, that she contracted her second marriage.

9.2 Lady Anne's second marriage

'On the 3rd day of June in 1630...I was marryed in Cheyneys Church in Bucks to my second husband, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, and K.G., he being then one of the greatest subjects in the kingdom.' 8

Lady Anne's mind remained fixed upon this advantage to her independent identity, because her account of her marriage continues:

'And methinks it is remarkable that I should be this second time marryed in the church of Cheyneys [her first marriage was in her mother's house at Austin Friars], in the vault whereof lye interred my great-grandfather and grandfather of Bedford and their wives [first and second Earls of Bedford] ancestors to my blessed mother, as also her son, the Lord Robert Clifford, and her eldest sister, Anne, Countess Dowager of Warwick, their niece the Lady Frances Bourchier, daughter to the Earl of Bath by their sister Elizabeth, Countess of Bath, and their nephew, Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, who dyed without issue the 1st of May 1627'. 9

The comforting shades of her ancestors and the visible tombs of four of them in the Bedford Chapel, including ^{Pl.}₂₃ her own memorial to Frances Bourchier, must have seemed to encourage this marriage aimed at enlisting support in high places for her lawsuits. The wedding guests were less present to her than the ancestral spirits. She was misled by this set of circumstances. Pembroke was a

great opportunist looking for his own advantage, and that of his children, in this match.

At forty years old, with both parents dead, Lady Anne might have been expected to make a choice of husband to be the comfort and support to her for which Elizabeth, Lady Russell asked at the same age. Lady Anne was more intent upon her identity than on her personal comfort. Philip's elder brother William had been active in making King James's Award in 1617, and she now hoped Philip could persuade the new sovereign to overturn that judgement to win the Clifford estates, as he had won so much else. She chose the man for political, not personal, reasons, and could not, therefore, have hoped to curb his lusts and his temper, or live in harmony with him. She lived a wife to Pembroke at the court at Whitehall for four years and six months, during which time she gave birth to two sons, born prematurely, who died at birth.¹⁰ In the early 1630s, Pembroke entertained King Charles each summer at Wilton, and the assumption is that Lady Anne, rather than her sister-in-law, Mary Talbot, the Dowager Countess of Pembroke, then acted as hostess. According to Aubrey, it was Charles I who 'did put Philipp Earl of Pembroke upon making this magnificent garden and grotto, and to new build that side of the house that fronts the garden, with two stately pavilions at each end, all al Italiano'

¹¹, because the garden was laid out and fitted with water-powered effects in 1632-33 ¹² before work started on the south front in 1633.

By patronising Inigo Jones, Charles's courtiers had at last brought England into conformity with Renaissance ideas of architecture based upon geometric relationships. Jones supervised these beginnings of the grandiose plans for Wilton. ¹³ Isaac de Caius, working with the 'advice and approbation of Inigo Jones' ¹⁴, built the rooms in Wilton based on the proportions of a cube. The great centrepiece now of the double cube room is a painting (330 x 510 cms.) by Van Dyck (1599-1641) in celebration of the marriage of Pembroke's heir, Charles, Lord Herbert, to Lady Mary Villiers in 1635. Since Charles died in 1636, the painting can be dated 1635/36. The ten full size figures, and three putti representing the souls of dead infants, portrayed the Earl of Pembroke's family, under his coat of arms. Pembroke and his children were presented in gorgeous silks and satins in flamboyant twisting poses, whilst the tightly contained frontal pose of the seated figure of Lady Anne, clothed in dull black, was reluctantly placed alongside Pembroke at the centre of the composition. Pembroke could not omit his estranged second wife, since he still intended to marry one of his sons to her younger daughter. The self-containment of the figure of Lady Anne and its drab colour proclaimed her detachment from her husband's family and her

indifference to their ostentatiously coloured costumes and setting of classical columns. The compositional scheme was so disturbed by the solidity of Lady Anne's hunched form, that I would suggest Van Dyck sketched her separately, and that she would not assume an idealised languid pose for Pembroke's picture. This supposition fits in with her physical removal from Pembroke when the picture was painted. It could not have been the painter's choice to represent her figure so differently from the others, in critical judgement upon her new relations, but the psychological truth of her detachment from them was apparent in her chosen attitude. This picture provided a wonderful image for her comment that the marble pillars of Wilton were for her but the gay harbours of anguish.¹⁵ Lady Anne associated the Italian style of Wilton's rebuilding with the unrestrained behaviour and extravagance of living style of her husband, and with the moral laxity of the inner court circle. On 18 December 1634, 'by reason of some discontents'¹⁶, Lady Anne quitted the court, leaving Pembroke to his pleasures. He was 'immoderately given to women'¹⁷, and other passionately pursued pastimes. Henceforth she lived apart from him in his beautiful fortified mansion of Baynard's Castle, which was rebuilt by Henry VII¹⁸, on the Thames in London: or at Wilton or Ramsbury in Wiltshire. Their separation was marked by an agreement reached in 1635 which gave Lady Anne the benefits of anticipating widow status while still living in her husband's houses at his expense. She was in Baynard's Castle in 1635 when Pembroke made over her

jointure and released his right to all her lands in Westmorland and some of her lands in Craven.

'The 5th of June 1635 did my said Lord the Earl of Pembroke in Baynard's Castle make over to me my jointure of those lands of his in the Isle of Sheppy in Kent, which he had formerly made in jointure to his first wife...; and at the time of making that jointure he released his right to all my lands in Westmoreland and £5,000 out of the lands in Craven, for a part of my younger daughter's portion, if ever those lands should fall to me in his life, as they afterwards did. And this agreement was chiefly made between us by my worthy cousin german Francis, Earl of Bedford.'

19

This agreement was reached through the negotiating skills of her cousin, Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, who has been shown to be her main support through her inheritance claims. These legal traces confirm the financial and territorial basis of the attraction for Pembroke of marriage with Lady Anne, and mark his abandoning any hope of securing her inheritance for himself. This agreement is highly important for it shows that a woman could legally evade the customary and common law assumption that her property and expected inheritance came under the control of her husband for the duration of the marriage.

Having surrendered all expectation of enjoying Lady Anne's potential resources himself, Pembroke attempted to set a younger son in line to receive them, through marriage with Lady Anne's younger daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville. ²⁰ Isabella resisted pressure to

this end, applied over at least four years, and at length, on Monday 5 July 1647, married James Compton, Earl of Northampton, in Clerkenwell, London. ²¹

This account of Lady Anne successfully evading Pembroke's depredations was somewhat balanced by her acknowledgement that he checked her movements. In a letter to her cousin Francis, she wrote:

'I dare not venture to come [to London] without his leave, lest he take that occasion to turn me out of his house, as he did out of Whitehall, and then I shall not know where to put my head.' ²²

This was an admission that Lady Anne left Whitehall in 1634 perhaps at her self-righteous instigation, but certainly at his bad-tempered demand to be quit of her, and that she lived at Wilton on sufferance amongst his children and with his brother's widow. ²³ Lady Anne's perambulations around Pembroke's houses ceased with the threat to great estates of the developing conflict between King and Parliament.

'When the Civil Wars began to grow hotter and hotter in England, my said lord and I came together from Wilton the 12 October 1642 with my younger daughter the Lady Isabella Sackville; and the next day we came to London where my said lord went to lye at his lodgings in the Cockpitt in St. James's Park, over against Whitehall, to be near the Parliament, but I and my daughter went to lye at Baynard's Castle, which was then a house full of riches, and was more secured by my lying there.' ²⁴

This account of her movements explained motivation as protecting Pembroke's great inherited wealth of property, collected paintings and art objects. Probably

as important as ideological reasons for his dissociation from his great patron the King, was Pembroke's desire to protect his amassed wealth. Due to the protection afforded her by Pembroke's support for Parliament, Lady Anne continued undisturbed in the great rambling Baynard's Castle for six years and nine months.

'the Civill Wars being then very hot in England... as it were a place of refuge for me to hide myself in, till these troubles were over passed. Isai. 43.2' [When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the floods, that they doe not overflowe thee]. 25

This record takes Lady Anne's career up to 1649, living quietly in London a retired, domestic existence apart from her husband, but under his legal guardianship.

Lady Anne made three claims on the Clifford estates, one as a widow in 1628, and two in 1632 and 1637, as Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery. In her legal forays she had the support of the Earl of Bedford, bearing out what Houlbrooke has found to hold good for married women:

'when a woman married, although she assumed her husband's name, her links with her kinsmen were by no means severed. Her closest blood relatives often stood ready to assist or advise her, particularly concerning her property rights.' 26

That guidance was denied to her when Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, died in 1641.

'The 9 day of that May in 1641 dyed my worthy cosin german Francis Russell Earl of Bedford, at his house called Bedford House in the Strand, to my extream grief and sorrow, for he was a most worthy man. Eccles. III and VIII, 6.' 27

We cannot know whether this cousin's long championship of Lady Anne's interests and their bond of affection from childhood would have led her to commemorate him, as ^{le} ₂₃ she did her cousin Frances Bouchier, because the fourth Earl had himself set up a series of monuments in the Bedford Chapel at Chenies in 1619/20 to Francis, the ^{le} ₂₂ second Earl (1527-1585); to the Countess of Warwick (1548-1604); and for himself (1593-1641) and his wife, Katherine Brydges (d.1656/7), built and erected by the third generation Cure workshop of Southwark. ²⁸ Lady Anne's diary entry added her commendation of his virtues to the modest epitaph which he set on his tomb.

9.3 Lady Anne's heritage

Also in 1641, Lady Anne's father's heir, Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland, died, at near eighty-two years, in Skipton Castle, Craven. His son Henry inherited title and land and became the fifth Earl. Lady Anne detected the hand of God in the deaths of Henry's three sons, his heirs. Her cousin Henry also died 'two years ten months and twenty days after his father. Job VII,1'. ²⁹

'The 11 December 1643, in one of the Prebends' houses in York, died my cosin german Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland... so by the death of this cosin german of mine, Henry Clifford, without heirs male, the lands of mine inheritance...reverted unto me without question or controversie.' ³⁰

She now inherited the Westmorland and Craven lands under

the terms of the King's Award. Thanks to King James's grant of land to her uncle and his heirs male which had caused her some anguish in 1607, she could now also bequeath it as she wished.

'By the providence of God, it turned to the best for me, for if this patent had not been granted out of the Crown, I should not have had that power which I now have to dispose of my lands to whomsoever I please. Isai.V,11-17'. 31

Her mind turned to her ability to pass it to her posterity rather than her own enjoyment of it. Further, thanks to the agreement reached with Pembroke by her cousin Francis in 1635, Lady Anne's inheritance became hers alone and not property to be passed on to her husband as matrimonial possessions. At the age of nearly fifty-four, Lady Anne fell heir to lands, the winning of which had been the mainspring of all her actions since she was fifteen years old. By the mere circumstance of outliving her male Clifford relatives, she benefited from her father's Will, endorsed by the agreement reached between Dorset and her uncle through King James's Award in 1617. Dorset had also been enriched by compensation for loss of the estates.

She left behind her the thirty-eight years of bitter acceptance of other people's decisions regarding her inheritance, and her unhappy defiance of kingship as the fount of justice. She left behind, too, the painful quarrels with Dorset, and the indignity of her second

marriage to a man whose temperament and way of life were so different to hers. She did not immediately take possession of her inheritance, explaining

'yet had I little or no profit from that estate for some years after, by reason of the Civil Wars.' 32

While she was still in London, she marked the change in her status by commissioning an enormous portrait group displaying her ancestry and justifying her inheritance. This was almost as large as Pembroke's Van Dyck (11 x 17 feet) portrait of his family celebrating the marriage of his heir. 29 She may have had the scale of the Pembroke

portrait in mind, but her concept of the group was totally different. Instead of a single integrated composition of figures costumed in rich modern dress in proud, swirling poses, she chose a conservative presentation of figures for her Great Memorial Picture. 28

She commissioned a portrait copyist, as her inscriptions relate, probably Jan van Belkamp of London (d.1653), who had done rows of portraits for Knole, to paint portraits based on existing pictures of various sizes, retaining the costume and style of presentation of the originals. She organised this material into a narration of her just inheritance. The picture took the form of a triptych, a type traditional to large-scale portraits with holy figures in pre-Reformation religious narratives. These seem a closer model than the family portrait she had known at Wilton.

In the centre panel she displayed her line of descent in the standing, stiff, figures of her father and mother and her two elder brothers, the Lords Clifford, who died successively at the age of nearly six years old. Her painted annotations to the panel claimed that her mother was carrying Anne when the original portrait, on which this one was based, was painted. By this means, Lady Anne included herself in this group of the undisputed family of the third Earl.

She was assisted by Sir Matthew Hale (1609-1676), Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and an antiquarian, in providing a manuscript from which inscriptions were painted ³³, explaining the painted figures.

'These eight pictures (in the centre panel) conteyned in this frame are copies drawne out of the Original Pictures of these Hon'ble Personages, made by them about the beginning of June 1589, and were thus finished by the appointment of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in memoriall of them in Anno Dⁿⁱ. 1646'. ³⁴

In the left wing she presented herself as a maiden surrounded by the books, embroidery and music of her accomplishments, at age fifteen, when her father died and she should have inherited. The text to this panel emphasised her beauty, wide knowledge, social accomplishments and worthiness to inherit.

The right wing was newly painted in 1646 to show the black-clad figure of the sad woman she had become by the

time she was recognised as heiress. The solitary figure was surrounded by the attributes of her life, her books, dog and cat, and the miniatures of her absent husbands. Even the new-painted right panel was presented in an outmoded style with a quite flat, unmodelled, still, clearly defined outline to the figure.

The three panels added up to a grand statement of her qualifications as heiress to the Clifford estates, and in due course she had the triptych installed in Appleby Castle, with a copy of it made for Skipton Castle.

She wrote that she took her last leave of Pembroke on Sunday 3 June 1649 in his lodging in the Cockpit near Whitehall. She assembled her two daughters, their husbands and her grandchildren in Baynard's Castle eight days later, to take leave of them. She left London for ever for her own castles in Yorkshire and Westmorland, on 11 July 1649, reaching Skipton Castle, where she was born, on 18 July, after a week's journey. ³⁵

She found that Skipton had been slighted some six months previously by Parliamentarians to make it unusable again as a garrison for royalist rebels. This was the castle to which she had been refused admittance on her journey with her mother in 1607. On 28 July she removed to Barden Tower, returning again to Skipton. On the 7

August she left Skipton and reached Appleby Castle, 'the most antient seat of my inheritance'.³⁶ On the 18 August she moved to Brougham Castle. In the same month she visited her decayed castles of Brough and Pendragon and Wharton Hall. She ended her account of her peregrinations by citing Prov. XX,24, which speaks of man's journeying being in the hands of God. 'Henceforth' ('Desormais'), as the Clifford motto built into the battlements over the gateway to Skipton Castle proclaimed, she governed her own life, and ruled her estates.

She had been some seven years in legal possession of her lands, and one year in residence in the north, when Pembroke died (1584-1650). Her record suggested that she suffered no grief:

'Wednesday 23 January 1650 dyed my second Lord, Philip Herbert... in his lodgings in the Cockpitt near Whitehall at London, he being then sixty-five years three months and thirteen days old. And the news of his death was brought me down post from London to Appleby Castle the 27 of that month; and his dead body was buried in the great church at Salisbury [Cathedral] the 9 February following, by [beside] his brother and their father and mother'³⁷

There seems to have been no expectation by Pembroke's children that she would attend his funeral. A later date for the funeral, giving her ample time to travel to London to accompany the corpse to Salisbury if she had so wanted, was suggested by a letter to Lady Anne from Caldecott, Pembroke's Chaplain, dated 23 February,

saying. that he had 'newly come from performing his interment'. ³⁸ Clearly, she did not wish to make the journey. In his Will, Pembroke asked to be

'buried in a seemly manner without any sumptuous Funerall as speedily after my decease as conveniently may be at and in the Cathedrall Church of Sarum in the County of Wiltes where my Father Henry, late Earle of Pembroke and my brother William, late Earle of Pembroke were both interred. And that there shall be erected over the place of my buriall a seemly meet and convenient Tombe fit for my honor degree and qualitie'. ³⁹

In spite of his large debts, calculated by Lawrence Stone as being £44,759 at his death ⁴⁰, and his expressed wish for a modest funeral, £2,667 was incurred as funeral costs. ⁴¹ The ceremonial of interment must have been splendid. The pomp of state attached to Pembroke's departure from Whitehall: 'By order of the Council of State all Members of Parliament accompanied the cortege two or three miles on the journey from London. ⁴² In spite of the public stir at the death of Pembroke, there is no evidence in Lady Anne's records nor in the records of the then parish church of Salisbury, that his request for a tomb was considered. Although the Commonwealth did not prohibit the erection of monuments, the tenor of the times was against such extravagance, and perhaps the charge on the estate of his debts forbade it. Even so, it is strange that so prominent a nobleman was not given a handsome monument in the 1660s when many like omissions were remedied. Instead, a stone slab was set at the entrance to the

Pembroke vault, and is now affixed to the wall of the choir, which in no way meets Pembroke's expectations of a memorial. Set within the Garter, an inscription to the family reads:

'Henry Earl Penbrooke dyed ye yeare 1600
Lady Mary his wife 1621 Will. Earle of Penbrooke
their first borne sone dyed without issue Aprill ye
10 1630. Phillip Earle of Penbrooke their second
sonne & heire to his brother created Earle of
Montgomery ye 4th of May 1621 dyed Ianuary ye 23th
yeare 1649 [1650] and were buryed in these vaults
the sayd Earle Philip leaving three sonnes' 43

The failure to commemorate Pembroke retrospectively in the 1660s indicated that an element of affection, as well as recognition of rank and merit, was a factor in the commissioning of monuments. Patrons had to want to see a prominent reminder of the deceased to set up the bulk of a sumptuous tomb in their churches. In the 1660s, it did not serve the interests of Pembroke's heirs to commemorate his status.

As an epitaph on her wedded state, Lady Anne wrote:

'A wise man that knew the insides of my fortune
would often say that I lived in both these my
lords' great familys as the river of Roan or
Radamus runs through the Lake of Geneva, without
mingling any part of its streams with that lake;
for I gave myself wholly to retiredness, as much as
I could, in both these great families, and made
good books and virtuous thoughts my companions,
which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted
when it unjustly happens.' 44

The young Lady Anne embarked upon married life expecting to give the support of her rank, skills and beauty to her husband in return for reciprocal support from him in

her inheritance cause. The passage of a few years showed her that far from fighting her cause, her husband sought only his own interest in the issue. Her hope of support from her second husband was very short-lived, and she similarly withdrew from his interests into the self-containment which is apparent in the quotation above. Consequently, Lady Anne withdrew into an isolation of endurance which was salved in part by her acts of remembrance of departed supporters of her status. Her husbands acted in a socially accepted manner which was applauded by Aubrey, chronicler of gossip and attitudes to the great of the land. Consideration of Lady Anne's refusal to act in her husbands' interests leads to the realisation of her giving prime importance to hierarchy. She acted as she did because of her acute awareness of her own rank. Her self-consciousness of being heir to a great noble family took precedence over her sense of inferior gender as wife to a high ranking nobleman.

CHAPTER 10 . THE BUILDER OF THE OLD WASTE PLACES

10.1 Lady Anne assumes personal direction of Clifford estates

After the death of Pembroke, Lady Anne made no further forays into the marriage market. She was not dependent upon male companionship for her happiness. As a propertied woman, she had too much to lose to hazard another match, by which she would surrender her separate legal identity and possibly be hampered in exercising her personal control over her inheritance.¹ Lady Anne wanted to exercise personal, independent, direction of her estates.

With jointures held in survivorship from the rich estates of both her husbands² to swell income from her paternal inheritance, in 1650, Lady Anne entered on an extensive programme of rebuilding and restoring her damaged and ruinous castles with their associated outbuildings. Her aim was to restore them to their former appearance as the strongholds of her ancestors and Cromwell suffered her to rebuild.³ Her style of 'repairing the breach', [Isai. LVIII,12], as she called her activity, was extremely conservative. She did not introduce to her estates symmetrical, all-inclusive ranges of Italianate buildings. She continued the sixteenth century English habit of building bakehouses and brewhouses around her castles as seemed to her

convenient, at a time when such functions were being incorporated into Neo-Palladian structures.⁴ In 1650 Lady Anne was sixty. At this stage of her life, she felt no need for bowling greens, tennis courts, or gardens, all features of houses she had lived in as a wife, so that it was less surprising that she also retained a focus on the enclosed courtyard. She started by restoring Skipton and Barden Tower at about the same time, in 1650.⁵ She began repairing Appleby, the tower of which had been without a roof since the 1569 Rebellion of the North, in 1651. On the 21 April 1651, she laid the foundation stone of the rebuilt Caesar's Tower, and completed the structure by July 1653.⁶ Reconstruction at Brougham Castle took place in 1651 and 1652.⁷ She started to rebuild the decayed Brough Castle, which had been burned down in 1521, in April 1659, for occupation in 1660, and here she built a courthouse of twelve or more rooms in which to hold her manorial courts.⁸ She rebuilt the 'heap of stone' that was Pendragon from 1660 to 1662.⁹ To all these renovated castles she added or repaired enclosing walls with arched gates, new kitchens, bakehouses, brewhouses washhouses, coachhouses, and stables. Her proprietorial pride extended to re-establishing sound estate management. She rebuilt a water mill at Brough, and rebuilt Hough Mill near Barden, both of which brought in high rents from milling corn. She built a new mill at

Brougham.. She constructed a bridge over the Eden river to give easy access to Pendragon Castle.¹⁰ Her records of the rebuilding of her castles of Skipton, Barden Tower and Brougham, include a reference to Isai.LVIII,12

'And they shall be of thee, that shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the old foundations for many generations and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, and the restorer of the pathes to dwell in'.¹¹

The churches near her castles were also her concern. Her records told of her building and repair work to the churches. She made extensive repairs to St. Lawrence, Appleby in 1655, repairs to Skipton church in 1655; restored Bongate church Appleby in 1658-9; she rebuilt Ninekirks church¹² at Brougham in 1659; the church at Brough in 1659-60; she built the chapel at Brougham in 1661; the church on Mallerstang moor in 1664, in total seven churches or chapels rebuilt regardless of the ecclesiastical settlement under whose dispensation the churches operated. These were works of pious gratitude to a God whom she felt had seen the justice of her claim and worked His Will upon events. The churches benefited the local populations more than they did Lady Anne.¹³ They were works of charity which impressed her benevolent rule upon the local populations.

She built and endowed an almshouse for a 'mother' and twelve poor women at Appleby in 1651-2:

'And the 23rd day of the said April I was present at the laying of the first foundation-stone of my

hospital or almshouse here in Appleby towne, for which I purchased lands, viz. the mannor of Brougham, the 4th day of February following, and the lands called St. Nicholas near Appleby the 29 December in 1652, which almshouse was quite finished, and the mother and twelve sisters placed therein, in January and March 1653.' 14

She completed and supervised the almshouses for twelve widows and a governess at Beamsley near Skipton, which had been started by her mother in 1593. As well as indoor relief for women, for a decade and a half to the mid 1660s, Lady Anne set local men to work on her building programme. This employment provided a means of subsistence for poor families. Indeed, Bishop Rainbow of Carlisle pointed out in her funeral oration that, in doing so, she 'set the poor on work, thus curing their idleness, as well as supplying their indigency.' 15

By continuing relief of the deserving poor, Lady Anne was assuming the responsibilities of the Clifford title-bearer. The poor were part of her community of deference. According to Bishop Rainbow, she maintained close contact with the affairs of her almswomen:

'You might have seen her sometimes sitting in the almshouse which she built, among her twelve sisters as she called them. And as if they had been her sisters indeed, or her children, she would sometimes eat her dinner with them at their almshouse, but you might often find them dining with her at her table; some of them every week, all of them once a month, and after meat as freely and familiarly conversing with them in her chamber as if they had been her greatest guests.' 16

Other charitable endowments were for schools at Appleby, and the £220 she spent in January 1664 on endowing a

person, initially Rowland Wright,

'to read prayers and homilies of the Church of England, and to teach the children of the dale to write and read English, in Mallerstang Chappell for ever'. 17

When each castle, church and almshouse was complete, she recorded her building activities in stone tablets set into them. For example, over the main entrance to Skipton Castle, the tablet reads:

'This Skipton Castle was repayed by the Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomerie, Baronesse Clifford, Westmerland and Veseie, Ladye of the Honour of Skipton in Craven, and High Sherifffesse by inheritance of the countie of Westmoreland, in the yeares 1657 and 1658, after the maine part of itt had layne ruinous ever since December 1648, and the January followinge, when it was then pulled downe and demolisht, almost to the foundacon, by the command of the Parliament, then sitting at Westminster, because itt had bin a garrison in the then Civill Warres in England. Isia. LVIII, 12' 18

Dwellings thus served to commemorate her coming into her inheritance. Her indispositions of body, wretchedness and boredom of mind were behind her.

'I passed through many strange and hard fortunes in the sea of this world; so as I may well apply that saying: "Praise the Lord because hee is good" and Ps. CIX, 21' [from trouble set me free]. 19

Lady Anne acquired a new lease on life with the sense of purpose ownership gave her. By Christmas 1651, which she kept at Appleby Castle, she could write:

'I do more and more fall in love with the contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life, which humour of mind I do wish with all my heart, if it be the will of Almighty God, may be conferred on my posterity that are to succeed me in those places, for a wise body ought to make their own home the places of self-fruition, and the comfortabest part of their life'. 20

She called to her service a number of chief officers to conduct her affairs under her direction and these men became part of her household.

'And now on this 24 day of July [1653] did Mr George Sedgewick come hither from London to me to serve as my secretary and one of my chief officers.'

21

Lady Anne was able to establish herself as a great magnate with very firm local loyalties to herself and her family as rulers in spite of the increasing influence of central government. She was able to impose her personality on the inhabitants through her continuous presence on her lands, impressed upon them by her progresses from castle to castle, and by her obvious interest in the prosperity of all these areas, demonstrated in her building programme.

Her benevolence and economic development of her estates had to be funded. Apart from her jointure rents, her resources lay in the rents paid by her tenants. In common with many other landowners who had abandoned sales of land to maintain their status ²², Lady Anne, upon entering her patrimony, set about renegotiating the basis of tenancies in 1650 to provide realistic rents. ²³ Her determination to make the land yield profits brought her into conflict with her tenants and the long continued suits show the strength of their opposition to her changing the terms of tenancy.

'And this time the suits and differences in law began to grow hot betwixt my tenants in Westmoreland and some of my tenants in Craven and me; which suits with my tenants in Westmoreland are still depending, and God knows how long they may last; but the differences with my tenants in Craven were for the most part by compromise and agreement reconciled, and taken up.' 24

Her 'differences' with her Westmorland tenants were pressed over the next seven years in the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster Hall, with the verdict invariably given in Lady Anne's favour ²⁵, followed by eviction and change of tenancy when the original tenant would not, or could not, comply with the new terms. She gave as reasons for these suits the desirability of changing fineable rents to yearly rack-rents, or high rents reflecting the full value of the land.

'And by that means I altered the tenure of that land, which was the principal thing I aimed at in my suites in law with my Westmoreland tenants, as being a greater benefit and advantage to me and my posterity and to all the landlords and tenants in that county. Isai.XXX,21; Jer.XLII,3; Ps.XXXIV,8'. 26

Her effective management of the land was attested to by her posterity. At her death, the sixth Earl of Thanet added to her Great Books of Record the statement:

'This short account was entered by my order after I came to the estate which shee by hur great prudence and resolution preserved to hurself and hur right heares... will ever have great reason to retaine a most sincere and gratefull respect to hur memory' 27

Her conferring of benefits of repaired churches, schools and almshouses upon her communities mitigated the harshness of her estate management and maintained the

loyalty of her tenants. Her avoidance of personal extravagance was generally known and respected as was her generosity to individuals. For the greater security of their properties, she gave presents of huge stock locks, made by George Dent of Appleby, to her household officers, Sir Edward Hassell at Colinfild near Kendal, and George Sedgewick at Great Asby Peel Tower. She fitted stock locks to Appleby Castle, to Dacre church and gave one to the Bishop of Carlisle for his residence at Rose Castle, Dalemain. She gave to her friends and servants gloves, books, jewelry, and bedsteads to her chief officers. She gave away portraits of herself. She purchased as gifts fifty-five copies of a book of devotions by the Rev. John Rowlet of Kirkby Stephen. Besides wages, she paid her servants extra sums for special services. The few household accounts which survive show her giving alms daily to the poor. She relieved those in distress; for example, she gave ten shillings to Roger Varey, one of her tenants, towards the repair of his house which had been accidentally burnt down. ²⁸

²⁸ She gave away unknown numbers of silver medallions, reproducing her portrait head in the right wing of the Great Memorial Picture, which carried the message of her greatness as well as her goodness. The large quantity of portraits and the medals reproducing her head at the time she came into her inheritance, provided evidence of her sense of the power of visual

images.. She broadcast this image.

^{Pl.}₃₀ An undated cast silver medallion survives in the British Museum, from an issue which she may have given to the Mothers of her almshouses, and others whom she wished to impress with her piety. ²⁹ This, too, was a memorial to her achieving her inheritance. All her munificence celebrated her power of patronage on her lands.

In the midst of her busy furbishing of her buildings, Lady Anne was constantly mindful of the part her mother had played in initiating the suits which forced the King and the lawyers to recognise her as the heir general by which she inherited when the male line failed. In her recorded movements around her six castles, her repeated response to entering Brougham was to remember that this was where her noble father was born and her blessed mother died.

^{Pl.}₃₁ In January 1654, Lady Anne erected a curiously affecting monument to her mother. On the spot where they had their final 'grievous and heavy parting' ³⁰, a quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle, on the road to London [A66], she set up a column, known as the Countess's Pillar. As well as marking the place of final parting from her living mother, the pillar commemorated the large part her mother had in guiding her actions towards

recognition as the heir. In the pillar Lady Anne was specifically commemorating her mother's aid to her.

The idea of continued thanksgiving to God for her mother's advice was implicit in a charity which Lady Anne endowed to be disbursed at the base of the Countess's Pillar on the anniversary of their parting.

'My daughter to have nothing to doe with... nor with the fineable rents of Brougham Hall mannor, which I have assigned to be distributed every second of Aprill, yearely, for ever att the pillar neare unto Brougham Castle, to the poore of the parish of Brougham, which pillar was some years since sett up there by my direction, in memory of the last parting betweene my blessed mother and me'. 31

In spite of her celebration of her paternal Clifford identity in her building works, Lady Anne demonstrated in the Countess's Pillar that her emotional allegiance was primarily to her mother. Lady Anne's reliance on her mother and on her mother's kin for support in the transactions of life may be a little unusual because of her being in dispute with her father's relations. Nevertheless, she provided evidence in her honouring of her mother, of women's attachment to, and pride in, their maternal connections as well as pride in their fathers' lineage.

Pride in descent from the Cliffords prompted her next commemorative commission. In the summer of 1654, while

she was resident at Appleby Castle, she caused Holy Trinity Church, Skipton in Craven, to be repaired of damage sustained in the Civil War. Beneath the altar of this church was the burial vault of the Cliffords, the bodies laid out in chronological order from the dissolution of Bolton Priory to the death of the last Earl of Cumberland, including the bodies of Lady Anne's father the third Earl, and her brother Francis, Lord Clifford. ³² On the left side of the sanctuary there was an altar tomb to her father's ancestor Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland (d.22 April 1542), and seemingly to pair Henry Clifford's tomb, Lady Anne ^{le} set up a similar monument to her father opposite it on ³³ the right side of the sanctuary. By pairing the tombs, she linked them and included the earlier one in her history, thus extending backwards its authentication of her claim to Clifford ancestry. The 'Tombe to be ^{le} erected and sett up in it in memory of my Noble Father ³⁴ [was] finished Anno Dⁿⁱ. 1655. ³³

10.2 The old age of Lady Anne Clifford

From the time that Lady Anne first recorded her contemplation of monuments it was probable that she would erect one to herself, to ensure that her identity joined that of nobles commemorated on other monuments, so that succeeding generations would have an image of all their greatness. At the time of Dorset's death, she affirmed her intention of being commemorated on her father's territory. From the time that she took up residence in the north, she had in mind her commemoration as well as her reinstatement of her ruinous buildings. Five years later, in 1655, Lady Anne ensured continued recognition of her identity by setting up her own memorial.

'About the 10th day of this March in this year 1655... while I lay in Appleby Castle, did I cause a great part of Appleby Church to be taken down, it being very ruinous and in danger of falling of itself; and so I caused a vault to be made in the north east corner of the church for myself to be buried in, if it please God, and the repairing of the said church cost me some six or seven hundred pounds, being finished the year following. Eccles., III; Ps. CXVI, 12, 13, 14 ' . 34

Pl.
35 She set up her memorial above the vault which she had built in Appleby St Lawrence on the northern wall of the sanctuary. She chose to be buried and commemorated in Appleby with her mother rather than in the Clifford vault in Skipton. In doing so, she showed the strength of her attachment to her mother. On the reredos at the

back of her altar tomb, she provided an heraldic chronicle of her Clifford lineage. On twenty-four shields of arms she told of her descent from the Veteripont who received the grant of lands from King John in 1199. She omitted the arms of the fourth and fifth Earls, whom she saw as interlopers, but included the arms of her two married daughters. In addition to heraldic identification, she had incised and painted in gold the names of the bearers of the arms and the marriages which provided her blood. She recorded the completion of her tomb two years later, in 1657:

'And this summer while I lay in my house or Castle of Skypton in Craven, about this time was the Tomb quite finished which I caused to be erected and set up for myself in the north east corner of Appleyby church here in Westmoreland, over the vault there which by my directions had been made in 1655, when I repaired the said church. Ps.CXXIII'. 35

³⁵
³⁶ In her scheme for her tomb, Lady Anne showed her enormous pride in being the living representative of an illustrious name. She illustrated, as Houlbrooke remarked, the:

'special solidarity with dead ancestors and descendants.... and celebrated the gradual augmentation of the property of their lines, and the descent of their names and coats of arms through several centuries', as a matter of great pride in the English nobility. 36

After the commemorative climax of her own tomb, Lady Anne lived on for a further twenty-one years. In this time, she acknowledged her debt to 'the Director of her buildings in the north' by commemorating Gabriel Vincent

in 1666 with a grave slab in Brough church, the difference in type of monument reflecting his lower social status. The survival of part of Lady Anne's account book for 1665 and separate account sheets for 1667 and 1668 ³⁷ showed her accepting responsibility for the expenses of her household. She gave one of her laundry maids, Margaret Domaine, a dignified burial in Appleby church on the 29 November 1668, involving ringers, church wardens, clerk, and minister, with bread, cheese and cakes distributed to the poor at a cost of 'ffive pounds ten shillings and sixpense'. ³⁸

She dispensed small amounts of money to twenty poor households each week in the neighbourhood of her residence. ³⁹ She used local labour for her building work, bought her clothes and gifts locally, and dispensed gifts and alms to people living around her. She was the great local patron. She received news of events outside her domains, commenting on them as they affected her personally. She noted the restoration of the monarchy in 1660; she commented on the magnitude of the Great Plague of 1665; and described how the Great Fire of London of 1666 burned down her former dwellings:

'The 2d day of this September, being Sunday, about 2 a clock in the morning, whilst my daughter of Thanett and her three youngest daughters lay here in Skipton Castle with me, [who would otherwise most likely have been in Aldersgate Street, London] and whilst the said two Judges of Assize for this Northern Circuite [normally resident in London] lay in my Castle of Appleby in Westmoreland to keep the

Assizes in the town there, did there a great fire break out in several places and houses within the walls of the City of London, which continued raging there for about four days together, before it could be quenched, and in that time consumed and burnt down not only Baynard's Castle but also Great Dorset House and Little Dorset House, which Little Dorset House was once my jointure-house, and in all which three places I had spent much of my time when I was wife to my first and second husbands. And 80 parish churches with most part of all their parishes were consumed, whereof the great cathedral church of St. Paul's was one, which had been one of the stateliest and antientest fabricks, when it was standing, in all Christendom; but in all this great dissolution Thanett House in Aldersgate Street, my daughter of Thanett's jointure-house, was then preserved.' 40

Lady Anne's preoccupation with the births, illnesses and deaths within her own family provided a record of a great noble lady's attitudes to birth and death. Several entries in the Great Books of Record concern her elder daughter's [Countess of Thanet] sixth child, the Lady Frances Tufton. She wrote with all the affection and concern of a fond grandmother:

'My daughter of Thanett's third daughter but sixth child, was born in her father's house called Thanett House in Aldersgate Street in London towne the 23rd of March in 1642... which grandchild of mine had been once or twice in the Low Countries for the cure of the rickets ... which she had in great extremity...[16 April 1655 to 9 May 1657]...but, thanks be to God, she came now to be well married in the same Thanett House the 23 February 1665 to Mr Henry Drax... and after she and her said husband had layn in Thanett House some 8 or 9 nights, they went away from thence into her husband's house in Lincoln's Inne Fields, to live there in it for a while; and afterwards they went into his house at Hackney, some 3 or 4 miles from London, to live there in it... and she dyed... this 22 November [also 1665 age 23] in a hired house of her husband's at Buckwell in Kent, near Hothfield, being then in labour of... a son, of whom she could not be delivered, for the child was dead within her a few hours before her own death... buried on the

15. December, being the month next following. And her child was buried then together with her in the vault of Rainham church in Kent'. 41

This insight into the life of ricket-deformed Frances alludes to her terrible five days' struggle for delivery, witnessed by her deeply concerned sister. The record of Frances's brief marriage implies the affection and high regard in which the crippled woman was held. In a family of many children, she was not hidden away. Lady Anne recorded her response to the death as:

'The 22 November in this year, about 1 a clock in the afternoon, to my unspeakable grief, dyed my dear grandchild, the Lady Frances Drax'. 42

There was no distancing aloofness shown by the aged Dowager for the plight of Frances, denying the belief in defensive indifference to the deaths of infants and children in the seventeenth century. Concern for thirteen grandchildren and the care of her domains and dependants occupied the ageing Lady Anne. Her chief joy was in receiving visits from her daughters, their husbands and her grandchildren, and in showing them around the restored castles of their ancestors.

'So as now I had the happiness to see this first child of mine and her first child, her eldest son, in the chamber where my father was born and my blessed mother dyed. Ps.XVI,5,6,7'. 43

She took understandable pride in her children and grandchildren's tours of her restorations, because their visits indicated to her their continuing interest in Clifford properties renovated to family use.

She lived twenty-seven years a great lady on her northern estates, never again travelling to what she considered to be the morally decadent court. Her conservatism in building styles, in portrait styles, in avoidance of fashion, her assumption of patriarchal responsibilities, all denoted her adherence to 'country culture' in distinction to the extravagant display of court lifestyles.⁴⁴ Her travels concerned her removals from castle to castle in progresses which she undertook with determination and courage in her old age. She travelled in a horse-litter, her women in a carriage pulled by six horses, her officers on horseback, a baggage-train followed by as many as 300 neighbours, tenants and local gentry.⁴⁵

'And the 14th day of October [1670], being Friday, about 9 or 10 a clock in the forenoon, after I had lain in Appleby Castle ever since the 3rd of August last, that I came from Pendragon Castle thither, did I remove with my family [household] from thence, coming through the Withdrawing Chamber into the chappell for a while and so through the Hall [and] took my [horse-]litter at the hall-door in the court, in which I rid through the town of Appleby over the bridge; and through Crackenthrop, Kirbythure, Temple Sowerby and Woodside, and by the Hartshorn tree, which I looked upon a while, I came safe and well, I thank God, into my castle of Brougham in the same county about 3 a clock in the afternoon; having been accompanied hither by several of the gentry and of my neighbors and tenants, both of Appleby, Brougham and Penreth; and after they had taken their leaves of me in the hall of this Brougham Castle, I came up through the Great Chamber and Painted Chamber and the little passage-room, into my own Chamber, where I formerly used to lye, and where my noble father was born and my blessed mother dyed'

46

Her accounts of these caravans seldom mentioned the tiring difficulties of travel in a mountainous region. When she had made arrangements to move, she went. Not even two fainting fits on one remove deterred her from undertaking the journey. A habitual train of neighbours and tenants, who were not obliged to accompany Lady Anne's removes, shows considerable affection for the old lady.

Funeral instructions were given in her Will, dated 1 May 1674:

'And as for my body, I desire that itt may be buried decently, and with as little charge as may be, being sensible of the folly and vanity of superflousse pomps and solemnities. And I desire that my body may be unopened, wrapt onely in a sear cloth and lead, with an inscription on the breast whose bodie it is; and soe to be interred in the vault in Appleby church, in Westmerland, which I caused to be made there with a tombe over itt for myself. In which church my deare and blessed mother Margaret Russell, Countesse of Cumberland, lyes alsoe interred... I desire my succeeding posteritye to have her in memory, love and reverence, who was one of the most virtuosse and religiousse ladies that lived in her time'. 47

She died at Brougham Castle, also in the room in which her mother had died, on 22 March 1676 and, according to her Will, her body was wrapped in close-fitting lead, with a brass inscription on the breast:

'The body of the most noble
vertuos & religious Lady Anne
Countess Dowager of Pembroke
Dorset and Montgomery daughter and
sole heir to ye late right Hon^{ble}
George Clifford Earl of Cumberland
Baroness Clifford Westmerland
and Vescy Lady of the honour of

Skipton in Craven and high
sheriffess by inheritance of ye
County of Westmerland who
departed this life in her castle
of Brougham in ye county
the 22nd March 1675[1676] having attained ye
age of 86 years the 30th of January before'. 48

The length of the leaden shroud was four feet ten inches, so that she must have been of small stature. On the 14th April 1676 her body was carried in a hearse drawn by six horses to St. Lawrence's church Appleby, and was buried in her vault about mid-day. Her funeral was attended by her grandson John Tufton and most of her own servants in mourning, and the local gentry. Edward Rainbowe, Bishop of Carlisle, preached a three hours funeral sermon, taking as his text:

'Every wise woman buildeth her house'. 49

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSIONS

In the course of setting out the events of these women's lives, a number of interesting topics have been raised which fall into the following groups: gender related issues, commemoration, and the changing perspective on the past. Substantiating references for events cited in this overview have been given in Chapters 1 to 10 and in the Catalogue.

1 GENDER RELATED ISSUES

(a) How gender affected the behaviour of these women

Both these women, though born of different degrees of noble rank, accepted current thinking on the subservience of the female. They were dutiful and obedient daughters to their parents and they accepted their husbands as heads of the family and arbiters for good or ill of family fortunes, but not without protest at husbands' extravagances in depleting inherited resources when this occurred. The degree to which these women submitted to their husbands was connected with their own social rank relative to their husbands' rank.

Elizabeth Cooke sought reassurance in later life on her position within the major nobility. In contrast, Lady Anne was confident of her anciently noble identity to the extent of denying her husband's and even her sovereign's judgement on inheritance. These attitudes

were formed by consciousness of personal position within the social hierarchy and only marginally affected by questions of gender. Rank was the dominant factor which determined behaviour.

Within each rank, behaviour appropriate to a woman was learned and used to make her an agreeable and competent consort. Elizabeth Cooke was fitted by a superior education for a thrusting role alongside the new men who had been elevated for their services to the crown. Perhaps some of her social insecurity derived from her paternal family and patronage connections being with men active in affairs but only recently socially elevated. Elizabeth was intended as consort to a professional diplomat - as were her sisters - husband and wife jointly working to earn higher status, but when she married into inherited noble rank, this created in her a need for public recognition of her change of status. She was well able to assume the dignity of higher rank but when her second husband died, she experienced considerable unease in sustaining her activities without the support and sanction of a male Russell.

Lady Anne could hardly have been born into a higher rank and her concern was to maintain that social superiority, even though her identity as heiress to ancient nobility brought her into conflict with her husbands. She did not

comply with their expectations of behaviour for a wife; submissive behaviour gave way to the unsexed assertion of rank during marital conflicts.

(b) Women and the Law

The inbuilt bias in the institution of the law in favour of male owners of property, as well as the legal partiality for a prominent man of higher rank, lost for Elizabeth Cooke her Castle of Donnington. Sex discrimination in the law lost for Lady Anne her father's estates, which went to a high-ranking male relative. It was the failure of the new Earl's male line which restored her father's property to her. Only the reversion under her father's Will, according to the King's Award, rather than common law right, allowed her to inherit. Both women appealed to the law for justice and both had to accept less than even-handed settlement of their claims.

The same principles of legal bias in favour of high rank allowed these women to prevail in legal dispute with people of lower rank: through Burghley's manipulation of the law, Elizabeth Cooke won the Hackness estates and a bride for her son; Lady Anne won higher rentals from her tenants. Women were discriminated against before the law, but in a society which commonly joined.

corporately in setting demands before the courts, the rank and power of those joining in the endeavour was of greater significance than the sex of the claimant.

Both these women fell back upon the idea of God as the final, just, arbiter of their causes, indicating the amount of reliance which Tudor and Stuart women placed upon divine intervention in their personal affairs. Cooke 'cast her burdens upon the Lord'; Lady Anne 'trusted wholly in Him that always helped me'. Outside this study was the well-known case of Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, who felt that her husband's illness and bad temper were God-sent to punish her for disobeying her father's command by marrying Charles Rich. These women believed that God would right wrongs.

(c) Promotion of the good of husbands and children

The degree of responsibility which these women took for the promotion of their husbands and children was also related to rank. To advance her husband's career, the gentleborn Elizabeth Cooke wholeheartedly supported Hoby on his embassy to France, although she was pregnant and had the care of young children. After Hoby's death, although she was encumbered by her state of motherhood and grief, she nevertheless assumed responsibility for winding down the embassy. She aimed at complementing

Hoby's professional capability as a high ranking servant of the Queen. She provided memorable pomp in the transport to Bisham of his corpse, in Hoby's funeral and his posthumous son's christening. When she remarried at higher rank, she provided public spectacles for Russell birth, christening, and deaths in the setting of Westminster Abbey. She planned, promoted and directed the careers of all her children as if she were beholden to her dead husbands for fulfilling their function in securing high rank for all their surviving offspring.

Initially, Lady Anne adorned with her beauty and accomplishments the advancement of her high-born husbands; but she soon allowed moral scruple to separate her from her husbands' activities at court and removed herself to a retired country life. She placed her daughters in honourable but unremarkable marriages to Earls, and deliberately married her younger daughter away from the interest of her second husband. Her sense of responsibility was not to her husbands' preferment but to her own ancestors, as their heiress, for the conservation of their noble identity.

In promoting what they perceived to be their responsibilities, these women acted quite differently, but both sought personal progress through life and dignified social positions for their children.

(d) Dowagers' drain upon family goodwill

Because of their longevity (seventy and eighty-six years respectively), these women drew jointure income, free from indebtedness, for many years from their dead husbands' estates, sums which diminished the heirs' incomes. This circumstance adversely affected Elizabeth Cooke's relationship with her son Sir Edward Hoby and gave rise to heated dispute with Elizabeth Russell on what to do with Russell House. Jointure obligations poisoned the already poor relationship between the fourth Earl of Dorset and Lady Anne. Lady Anne lived only occasionally and unwillingly among Pembroke's children as his wife, and aloof from them as his Dowager. As jointured dowagers, both women outlived their useful roles as guardians to young children, to become encumbrances upon the estates, and the objects of ill-will to heirs who had to meet jointure agreements made by earlier generations of titleholders. The prolonged survival of widows was a matter for regret to their husbands' heirs.

(e) The deaths of children

Both women bore seven children and experienced the deaths of some of them. On the evidence of epitaphs, Elizabeth Cooke showed herself more affected by the

demise of her children than did Lady Anne. However, Lady Anne wrote in her diary of her delight in 'the child', her elder daughter, and later chronicled her grief for her crippled granddaughter Frances. What remains to be seen are monuments, and the factor determining commemoration was whether these children were regarded as security for future social eminence by the patrons. Elizabeth Cooke merged her interests with her husbands' and put her efforts into advancing all their children in rank. The deaths of children diminished her social hopes. In particular, the death of the potential heir to the Bedford earldom was calamitous for her future social position, and so she provided monuments to her children's promise.

Lady Anne did not commemorate the deaths of her five infant sons, whom she thought of as heirs to her husbands' names and titles rather than her own, and who consequently were only marginally connected with her Clifford identity. None of her progeny offered hope of advancing her life's cause of achieving recognition of her claim to be head of her agnate family, which her monuments promoted.

(f) The retention of parental identity: agnate loyalties

Elizabeth Cooke continued throughout her life to hold attitudes on religion, on the value of education, on the duty which children owed to parents, which her father had inculcated in her. At her father's death in 1576, a handsome monument was set up to Sir Anthony Cooke and his wife in Romford, London Borough of Havering, on behalf of their six surviving children. As his child, it is probable that Elizabeth had a part in composing epitaphs for it. On stylistic grounds, the monument can be attributed to Cornelius Cure, who was, in addition, favoured with other commissions by Elizabeth and her brothers-in-law Lord Burghley and Lord Keeper Bacon. Burghley and Bacon were most likely to be responsible for its commission since they were executors of Cooke's Will, and the design closely resembles a drawing which Burghley had prepared in 1562 for his own monument.

Most unusually, Lady Anne wrote of her sense of deriving physical characteristics equally from both parents. In acknowledging her physical inheritance, she was also claiming both parents' social distinction. She was dutiful to her father while he lived and throughout her long life she honoured her mother's guidance as a major influence upon her career. She set up separate tombs to her parents. She chose to be buried with her mother,

but she displayed her father's lineage on her own tomb. Both women acknowledged their indebtedness to their parents for their sense of family identity in works of lasting eulogy of their fathers.

2 COMMEMORATIVE ISSUES

(a) The function of commemoration

For women, the social incentives to commemorate parents and high-ranking husbands were high. Both women were pious, and commemoration of the dead was an act of piety in the midst of their local communities in a highly visible form. The patrons benefited by linking the status of the deceased to their own claim to rank, and added the public implementation of head-of-family functions to the more usual domestic and community activities of women.

Elizabeth Cooke added the honour in which her father was held for his learning and his religion, her husbands' competence, and her children's success, to her own claim to status through her commemoration of them. It was revealing of Lady Anne's greater security in her own rank that she did not set up stone monuments to her husbands. She did not need to annotate her claim to nobility with their rank. Rather, she perceived a need

to explain her ancestry, which she did repeatedly, in
the memorial picture, in the incorporation of the first
Earl of Cumberland's tomb into her scheme for her
father's commemoration, and in the long ancestral roll
of heraldry on her own tomb.

To some extent, commissioning monuments soothed
frustrated purposes in the lives of both women. Cooke
commemorated members of her family who died before they
could demonstrate the advantages of her nurture and
finally she claimed all her children as her achievement.
The mix of family and officials whom Lady Anne
commemorated, showed the distinct sources of personal
support for her image of herself as heiress to a long
line of Cliffords. The iconography of the monuments
provided evidence of these women's own perceptions of
their lives, which differed from contemporary society's
expectations of them as obedient daughters, submissive
wives and capable mothers. Their monuments showed them
to be individuals building and stating their own
identities through memorials to other people, confirmed
especially in their own tombs. This aspect of
commemoration shows up because of the multiplicity of
commissions by these two women.

(b) Monuments. as works of art

These patrons did not think of their architectural and sculptural commissions as works of art in the modern sense, although they did commission skill to be worthy of the dead and to reflect honour upon themselves. They did not have a concept of themselves as either accepting current conventions in art forms or of innovating new artistic styles, although in pursuing her narrative aims, Elizabeth Cooke encouraged much innovation in the dramatic presentation of effigies. They used available art forms to commemorate the dead in a way which emphasised the aspects of the deceased which most benefited them. For Cooke, this was the courtliness of her first husband, the rank and honour of her second husband and the proximity to the Queen of her daughter, factors which she made evident through the poses of effigies. For Lady Anne, the emphasis was upon her lineage, which she could most easily illustrate by heraldry. The viewer was expected to contemplate the glory of the subject of commemoration, not the artistry of the tomb-maker. These considerations determined the form of monuments.

(c) The definition of the deceased by costume

Importance was accorded to the detail of costume of

effigies to underline the status of the deceased. Clothes claimed a particular status. The sumptuary laws aimed to limit the kinds and even the colours of fabrics which might be worn at a particular rank. The Hobys could not properly be shown wearing rich fur, but Lord Russell could, and Elizabeth Cooke used these distinctions of costume to mark the higher rank of her second husband. Each effigy was costumed at its permitted richest. The effigy of the Russell Maid of Honour was represented wearing garments which were the gift of the Queen. Costume was highly important to the definition of the deceased and to the cachet which the status of the deceased conferred upon the patron. On the single effigial monument set up by Lady Anne, the figure was given a metal coronet to ensure recognition of rank.

(d) Participation of the patron in the design of monuments

A major consideration applying to commissioned creative works is the apportionment of responsibility for the design between the patrons and the master of the workshop employed. Elizabeth Cooke must have exercised close supervision of the classicisms of her schemes to guide the English tombmaker's images, but she was dependent upon the sculptor's knowledge of classical motifs to realise them. She obviously determined the

appropriate characterization of the effigies. Lady Anne accepted current design conventions in favour at court for her southern commissions. Apart from a not very ambitious attempt at portraiture in her mother's effigy, she did not present an individualised image of the deceased. She relied upon traditional heraldry to define the subjects of her significant later northern commissions, retaining conservative tomb imagery at a time when baroque forms were in vogue.

The patrons' view of the deceased was the determining factor in creating the design. Because Cooke's monuments innovated poses in comparison with other monuments attributed to the Cure workshop, Cooke was necessarily involved in close supervision of images, which thus retained her stamp upon them. Since Clifford's tombs were old-fashioned, her function was limited to exercising a conservative influence upon the workshop's range of possible constructions.

The workshop master was responsible for the assembly of the design, and he usually personally carved the main effigies. He delegated to his workshop assistants the shaping of coloured stone columns, the making of decorative details, of symbols of mortality and elements of repetitive pattern. The workshop's range of motifs was available in its pattern books for the master

to compose a 'model' or 'plot' for each commission. The carving was thus a collaborative exercise within the workshop, and sometimes workshops using a similar idiom joined forces to make a monument. It is possible to allocate particular effigies to individual carvers, but such attribution is not very meaningful in collaborative enterprises which aimed at common styles in workshops within London.

(e) Costs of monuments

Although these patrons did not regard their monuments as works of art which might be admired for the skill of the master carver as distinct from the glory of their subjects, they did regard the tombmakers as skilled craftsmen. Elizabeth Cooke made a deliberate choice, consistently patronising the Cure workshop through its three generations of masters. Lady Anne employed Colt until 1617. These workshops were set up by immigrant masters and continued to employ aliens, who were taxed at double the rate of native born stone carvers. The additional taxation was part of the extra costs which these patrons paid for Anglo-Flemish and Anglo-French skills from 1566 to 1617.

Costs were judged on the size and richness of the stones: the larger the assembled monument, the more

costly the commission. Lord Russell's tomb set out to impress the viewer with its vast size. In the sixteenth century a variety of coloured stones was valued as an embellishment, as was gilding of decorative elements. Elizabeth Cooke commissioned monuments whose glowing richness commented on the status of the deceased. Lady Anne embarked on her commissions under the influence of the seventeenth-century fashion for black and white sepulchral schemes. She continued with the black and white colour contrast, adding only the colour of heraldry, throughout her patronage of different workshops, choosing tombmakers convenient to her location.

An additional cost was transport. River transport of the carved stones was used wherever possible from workshops to destination church. The Cure workshop was well placed on the Thames in Southwark to send loaded barges upstream to Bisham church situated on the riverbank near Marlow. In addition to river haulage, the stones were drawn across country on carts and incurred hauliers' charges and expenses.

The cost of the tombs in relation to the patrons' resources was an indication of the importance to them of commemoration. An estimated cost of about £220 to £250 for Elizabeth Cooke's own monument in 1600-1606, (judged

against the known cost of £320 for three smaller tombs in 1619 from the same workshop for the later fourth Earl of Bedford) to pay for which she seems to have sold a farm, was a much higher proportion of the resources available to her than the known cost of £40 to Lady Anne of Spenser's wall monument in 1620. Elizabeth Cooke commemorated her dead family with an obsession which consumed much of her resources. Lady Anne's monuments represented minor expenditure within her income, especially taking into account seventeenth-century inflation. The deduction is reasonable that she did not expend much emotion on her post-1617 commemorations, which were set up, with the exception of Vincent, at times unrelated to the deaths of their subjects.

(f) Epitaphs

For Elizabeth Cooke, epitaphs were expressions of deeply felt dismay at the death of members of her family. They also served a function of winning admiration for her classical erudition, which was central to her identity. She used terms for 'urn' and 'burn' as classicisms to suit her rhyme schemes when they were inappropriate to burial in earth. Her skill in composing Latin and Greek verses was of the highest order, using classical syntax modelled on Propertius for Latin and Theogius or Simonides for Greek in modern spellings. It set her

apart from the generality of women of the rank of her birth, or indeed of higher rank.

Lady Anne seems also to have written epitaphs for her major works of commemoration, but in English, with little attempt at rhyming schemes. She probably enlisted the help of her household officers in composing them. Epitaphs on her minor monuments seem to have been dictated by the patron but unchecked for accuracy upon completion. Her concern was to record the deceased's connection with herself, and to repeat her own descent. Every mention of her rank in epitaphs to other people added to her assertion of her identity. Women, having no political role, had no ability to make public statements so that epitaphs represented their public utterances.

3. CHANGING TRENDS IN APPROACHES TO HISTORY

This study exemplifies recent trends in the study of the past in paying attention to the importance of the family of husband, wife and children as the basic unit of social structure. It concerns itself with the abilities of two women and their roles within gentry and noble families in England. It assesses the extent of involvement of these women in promoting the marital and agnate family, set against their perceptions of their individual identities. It calls attention to

these women's modes of expressing family and personal identities within their social strata.

This study shows the great importance of the dignified spectacle as a means of impressing the fame of the family upon Elizabethan and Jacobean societies. Not only were there great triumphal, processional entries of Queens and Kings into cities through specially constructed, elaborately symbolic arches, noble families also adapted the impulse towards the dramatic staging of events on occasions of family births, christenings and funerals, which they invested with honour. They, too, had their triumphal entries and exits, to the accompaniment of marshalled, colourful, heraldic pageantry. Family monuments extended this claim to fame which the patrons projected into the future by choosing permanent materials for their memorials.

The source materials used in these case studies show how the detailed biographical evidence which prompted commissions can provide insights additional to those available to standard art-historical analysis of pictures, sculpture and architecture. Artefacts are here set not only within a social context, they show the specific significance of these works to the patrons, revealing their thinking, hearts and souls.

Similarly, the study of documentary evidence on these two women has been greatly enhanced, beyond any earlier biographies on them, by the addition of serious attention paid to the visual evidence of paintings, sculpture and architectural works by which these women wished to be known. In the scale, in the materials, and in the iconography of the works commissioned, they presented posterity with the view of themselves by which they wished to be remembered. Memorials seem such a very obvious source of evidence on the upper ranks of English society that it is a pity earlier historians have paid them so little attention. The hurdle seems to be that conventional historians, well able to read the writing of old documents to assess the significance of archival material, and willing to travel beyond caches of manuscripts, stand bemused in front of the majestic impact of sculpture and architectural assemblies, unable to read and assess the meaning of visual images.

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- 14 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.618.
- 15 David N. Durant, Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast, (London, 1977), pp.119-121.
- 16 Crowned with her initials ES, carved into the skyline of the house set upon its hill to blazon her independent fame.
- 17 David N. Durant, 'The Building of Hardwick Hall, 1587-91, Part I, The Old Hall', Derbyshire Record Society, Vol. IV, (Derby, 1980), p.xii.
- 18 Letter from Anne, Countess of Warwick and her brother Sir William Russell of Thornhaugh to Sir Robert Cecil, 1603, H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, pp.110-111. With some malice, Sir Edward Hoby wrote to Sir Thomas Edmonds on 19 November 1605, reporting the death of the Earl of Cumberland, adding that his widow was 'left a lady able to pleasure the communion of saints, having a jointure

of £1,200 a year confirmed in the 39th of Elizabeth by Parliament', (Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.408). However, Lady Cumberland's Will complained that her jointure remained unpaid (Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.460).

- 19 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.635.
- 20 Maria L. Cioni, Women and Law, p.15.
- 21 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.635.
- 22 Lawrence Stone, Family, Sex and Marriage, p.112.
- 23 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.72.
- 24 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.635.
- 25 Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune, pp.246-247.
- 26 Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune, pp.250-151.
- 27 W.S. Holdsworth, History of English Law, III, London, 1935, pp.193-196, quoted by Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.642.
- 28 Maria L. Cioni, Women and Law, p.1.
- 29 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., I, p.416. Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.643. Lady Anne Clifford thought that this match was arranged specifically to engage the power of Salisbury in retaining the Clifford inheritance for Henry Clifford, (Gilson, Lives, p.15).
- 30 Rowena E. Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies', p.19.
- 31 The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, p.126.
- 32 'the full third of [the] living' of the Earl of Dorset, Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.37.
- 33 For this contingency see Barbara J. Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow: a stereotype reconsidered', Women in English Society 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), p.75. J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.50.
- 34 Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune, p.174.
- 35 Lawrence Stone, Family and Fortune, p.199.
- 36 Rowena E. Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies', p.19. On 22 May 1616 Lady Anne wrote to Dorset that the steward of all his manors, Mr Amherst, should confer with Mr Davy to free her jointure from the payment of debts and all

other encumbrances, (Diary of Lady Anne Clifford , p.31).

- 37 Richard, Earl of Dorset, allocated £1,000 in his Will dated 26 March 1624, for the erection of his monument in the Sackville Chapel at Withyam, Sussex, from which his widow asked that her effigy and epitaph be excluded (Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.460). It was destroyed by fire on 16 June 1663 (Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.406). Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, asked in his Will dated 1 May 1649, for a monument fitting his status to be set up in Salisbury Cathedral (Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.462). A bare record of his name, along with the names of his forebears, was written on a plaque, formerly on the entrance to the Herbert family vault and now on the wall of the choir of the Cathedral.

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- 2 J.B. Trapp and H.S. Herbruggen, Sir Thomas More, p.30; Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.47, p.50.
- 3 William Camden, cited by David Lloyd, State-Worthies, p.251.
- 4 Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.47ff.
- 5 Dr Anne Saunderson, Lecture at meeting of International Society for the Study of Church Monuments in the Museum of London, 10 November 1984. David Lloyd, State-Worthies, p.252. William Camden, cited by J.H. Wiffen, House of Russell, Vol. I, p.500. Neville Williams, All the Queen's Men: Queen Elizabeth and Her Courtiers, (London, 1972), p.43. Josephine Ross, The Tudors, (London, 1980), p.84.
- 6 William Camden, cited by David Lloyd, State Worthies, p.251.
- 7 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.702.
- 8 J.B. Trapp and H.S. Herbruggen, Sir Thomas More, p.95.
- 9 Katherine U. Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, Half Humankind, p.83.
- 10 Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', pp.62, 63.
- 11 J.B. Trapp and H.S. Herbruggen, Sir Thomas More, p.89.
- 12 Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.62. Katherine U. Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, Half Humankind, p.83.
- 13 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.676.
- 14 William Camden, cited by David Lloyd, State-Worthies, p.252.
- 15 William Wotton, cited by Mary Astell in Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, London, 1694, pp.349-350, referred to in Mary Astell's A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, Part I, London, 1696, both treatises quoted by Bridget Hill in The First Feminist, (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1986), p.153.
- 16 Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.64.

- 17 'Blue-stockings' derived from a society for both sexes formed in Venice in 1400, distinguished by the stocking colour and called della calza. A similar society in Paris in 1590 was the rage among Lady savants (Oxford English Dictionary, (Oxford, 1961), p.946. Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.64.
- 18 Cited by Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', p.64.
- 19 Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, London, 1622, p.36.
- 20 Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'The Cooke Family', pp.325-326.
- 21 Quoted by David Lloyd, State-Worthies, p.252.
- 22 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.6.
- 23 See Catalogue no. 2.5, p. for the titles of her books, editions and probable identification of the translations used.
- 24 Letter from Sir Philip Hoby to Sir William Cecil, July 1556, BL. Lansdowne MS. 3, f.113. Diary entry for midsummer 1557 that Sir William Cecil and Lady Cecil brought her sister Elizabeth Cooke to Bisham. Diary entry for 11 May 1558 for Thomas Hoby speaking of marriage to Elizabeth Cooke at Cecil's house at Wimbledon. Diary entry for Monday 27 June 1558 for the marriages of Elizabeth Cooke and Margaret Cooke, who was Maid of Honour to Queen Mary, to Thomas Hoby and Sir Rauf Rowlet respectively, in BL. Egerton MS. 2148, ff.5-182.
- 25 William Camden, The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England, third edition, (London, 1675), p.218.
- 26 Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, 1570, Ed. E. Arber, (London, 1923), p.51.
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- 3 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, pp.676-677.
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- 5 Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, (London 1977, reprinted 1987), pp.23-30, p.71.
- 6 The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, p.126.
- 7 Ibid., p.126.
- 8 Ibid., p.127.
- 9 Letter from Sir Philip Hoby to Sir William Cecil, July 1556, BL. Lansdowne MS. 3, f.113, quoted by Edgar Powell, The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, xxii.
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- 11 Ibid., p.127.
- 12 Ibid., p.128.
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- 14 Ibid., p.128.
- 15 Edgar Powell, Ed. Ibid., p.126, note 3.
- 16 Ibid., p.129.
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- 18 Ibid., p.129. Ernest R. Sandeen, 'The Building of Redgrave Hall', Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, Vol. XXIX, Ipswich, (1961), p.28, quoting letter dated 13 September 1568. Mark Girouard, 'Some Alien Craftsmen in sixteenth and seventeenth century England', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XX, (1965), pp.30-31.
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- 22 C.S.P. Dom. Addenda, 1566-1579, p.5, Letters from Sir Thomas and Elizabeth Lady Hoby to Sir William Cecil from Dover, 7 April 1566.
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- 24 C.S.P. For., 1566-1568, p.92.
- 25 Will of Sir Thomas Hoby 1566, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Crymes, 24.(PROB 11/48 F.419).
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- 27 College of Arms, London, MSS. Vol. I, 13, ff.77-78, f.179. Lord Burghley's Notes on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: 'July 13, 1566, Sir Thomas Hobby died at Paris, and the Lady his wife being then with child, brought his body afterward into England', ('Hackness Manuscripts and Accounts', Ed. J.W. Walker, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XCV,(1937), p.3).
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- 29 BL. Harleian MS. 7035, f.161. C.S.P. For., 1566-1568, p.112.
- 30 College of Arms, London, MSS. Vol. I, 13, ff.77-78, 179.
- 31 BL. Harleian MS. 7035, f.161.
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- 36 I am grateful to Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel

University, for translating these epitaphs.

- 37 Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, MSS., Cecil Papers Maps, II, 14.
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- 40 See Catalogue 1.2, p.267 for her poignant epitaph to Elizabeth and Anne Hoby.
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- 43 The date of his birth is unknown in published family histories and unknown in the Bedford archives. I have reconstructed John Lord Russell's birth dates from information provided in the inscriptions to The Great Memorial Picture of 1646 in Appleby Castle, commissioned by the Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, Dowager Countess of Dorset, niece to Lord John. I have compared these dates with known birth dates, in the order of birth of the family given on the monuments to the second Earl of Bedford, Chenies, Buckinghamshire and to John's brother, Lord William Russell, first Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, in Thornhaugh, Cambridgeshire.
- 44 P.W. Hasler, Ed. House of Commons, sub John, Lord Russell.
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- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.403.
- 62 William Andrewsporter, BL. Egerton MS. 2148, f.184.
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- 64 Myra Rifkin, 'Burial, Funeral and Mourning Customs in England 1558-1662', (Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania University Ph.D. thesis 1977), p.108, note 179.
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- 68 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.390.
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Earl of Bedford, 1556', yet another earlier Russell wife engaged in commemoration.

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- 10 Edward Hoby, A Letter to Mr T[heophilus] H[iggons], late Minister: now Fugitive, (London, 1609). A Counter-snarle for Ishmael Rabshacheh, A Cecropidan Lyaconite, (London, 1613); an argument continued in A Curry-combe for a coxe-combe, (London, 1615); C.S.P. Dom., 1603-1610, p.586; 1611-1618, p.269.
- 11 P.W. Hasler, Ed. House of Commons, sub Edward Hoby, p.320.
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- 26 Letter from Lady Russell to Thomas Posthumus Hoby, quoted by Dorothy M. Meads, Diary of Lady Hoby, p.27.
- 27 Letter from the Earl of Huntingdon to Margaret Sidney, 9 December 1595, The Fortescue Papers, Ed. S. R. Gardiner, (Camden Society New Series, I, London, 1871), p.xvi.
- 28 Dorothy M. Meads, Ed. Diary of Lady Hoby, p.236, note 89 explaining a point made on p.29.
- 29 Letter from Thomas Posthumus Hoby to his cousin Anthony Bacon, 3 Feb. 1595, BL.Add. MS. 4117, ff.38-41.
- 30 The Fortescue Papers, Ed. S. R. Gardiner, (Camden Society New Series, I, London, 1871), pp.xvii-xviii.
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- 35 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, p.241, pp.396-397.
- 36 Lawrence Stone, The English Revolution, p.99.
- 37 James Spedding, Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, (London, 1861), pp.298-299. Lady Hoby's letter of 6

- June 1599. 'To my dear and Loving Husband', which includes the statement: 'yet I should confess you to be an exceedinge good husband, and to deserve a better wiffe than my witt will serve me to be' (J.W. Walker, Ed. 'Hackness Manuscripts and Accounts', The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XCV, (1937), p.5).
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 - 43 BL. Egerton MS. 2614, quoted by Dorothy M. Meads, Ed. Diary of Lady Hoby, p.25, and note 73.
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- 57 Letter from White to Sidney, 23 June 1600, Arthur Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, (London, 1746), II, p.203. 24 June 1600, The Letters of John Chamberlain to Mr Carleton, Ed. Sarah Williams (Camden Society, 79, London, 1861), p.83.
- 58 Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, (London, 1977, reprinted 1987), p.29.
- 59 1 July 1600, The Letters of John Chamberlain to Mr Carleton, Ed. Sarah Williams (Camden Society, 79, London, 1861), p.87.
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- 61 Letter from White to Sidney, 23 June 1600, Arthur Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, (London, 1746), II, p.203.
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- 63 The Letters of John Chamberlain to Mr Carleton, Ed. Sarah Williams (Camden Society, 79, London, 1861), p.87.
- 64 Will of Lady Elizabeth Russell, Dowager, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Dorset, 56 (PROB 11/113, f.435-436).
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- 4 C.S.P.Dom., 1591-1594, pp.350, 379. C.S.P.Dom., 1611-1618, p.130. H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IV, p.460. V, pp.7, 121-122. VI, p.31. IX, p.54. XIII, p.516. W.P. Baildon, Ed. Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata 1593-1609, (London, 1894), pp.271-278, 309-312, 434-435 citing Star Chamber Proceedings. Dorothy M. Meads, Diary of Lady Hoby, p.14.
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- 8 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, pp.358-359.
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- 11 'None should have my consent to buy it while I breathe...they [Elizabeth and Anne Russell] durst at any time have presumed to have consented to have sold to any without my pleasure first known, before I should have heard motion from any that would buy it...but as it pleased me to sell or not to any creature...and therefore, desire you not to go about to take the remainder of the House out of the Crown. Your honest, plain dealing Aunt E.R. Dowager, Sep. 1599', (H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, pp.358-359).
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- 29 Letter from Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby to Sir Robert Cecil, 10 February 1601, H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XI, p.39. Dorothy M. Meads, Ed. Diary of Lady Hoby, pp.33-34.
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- 36 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.148.
- 37 Will of Lady Elizabeth Russell, Dowager, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury 56 Dorset. (PROB 11/113, f.435-436).
- 38 Lord Russell's birth made him a Viscount and made her consequently a Viscountess.
- 39 An allusion to the appropriate number for the rank of a Viscountess.
- 40 Joseph Edmondson, A Complete Body of Heraldry, (London, 1780), I, Sig. SSSS, as p.13 of Section 'On Funerals'. Page 14 gives Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms' detailed answer, giving the order for mourners as: the Chief Mourner should be an Earl's eldest son's wife, her train-bearer a gentlewoman, two Earl's daughters, two Baronesses, two Ladies or Knights' wives, two Gentlewomen, two assistants for the Chief Mourner, viz. two Earl's sons, four assistants to her estate, viz. two Earl's sons and two Knights, Four Bannerolls borne by two Knights and two Esquires, the Great Banner of Honour borne by a Knight, the preacher a Bishop, or Dean, Garter Principal King of Arms, and two Heralds, two Gentlemen for the estate, with white staves in their hands, viz. the Steward and the Comtroller, then two Gentlemen-Huishers, other Gentlemen and Esquires at the defunct's pleasure, then the physicians, then the learned councill, the defunct's servants, and the poor women. The Allowance of black cloth and other habiliments for all the mourners was detailed.
- 41 Will of Lady Elizabeth Russell, Dowager, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury 56

- Dorset. (PROB 11/113, f.435-436).
- 42 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.577.
- 43 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, Appendix XXV, Funeral Costs, pp.784-785.
- 44 Will of Lady Elizabeth Russell, Dowager, Public Record Office, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury 56 Dorset. (PROB 11/113, f.435-436).
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.785, note.
- 47 BL. Egerton MS. 2614.
- 48 I am grateful to Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel University, for a translation of the Greek text, and the reference to Psalm LV.
- 49 George Scharf, Russell Monuments, p.99.

REFERENCES AND NOTES TO CHAPTER 7: THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD
(1590-1676)

- 1 'A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of me Thomas Hoby', BL. Egerton MS. 2148, ff.5-182.
- 2 Sara Heller Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and occasional memoirs', Women in English Society 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), pp.181, 202-204.
- 3 The Diary of Lady Hoby 1599-1605, Ed. Dorothy M. Meads, (London, 1930).
- 4 Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford, Ed. V. Sackville-West, (London, 1923). There are references in Williamson to the Diary's being at Knole in 1922. I have attempted to find it to see if the writing was autograph or dictated to a household official, to gauge the privacy of the events and opinions recorded in it. The diary cannot be found in Lord Sackville's library at Knole, nor in Nigel Nicolson's at Sissinghurst. The County Record Office at Maidstone holds a transcription of it dated 1800. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, holds an early nineteenth century transcription of it.
- 5 The sixth Earl of Thanet wrote the explanatory note: 'There being four setts of these Books, one at Skipton, another sett at Appleby Castle and another sett at Hothfield, I thought it proper to keep this sett at London'. J. P. Gilson, Ed. The Lives of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676) and of her parents summarized by herself, Roxburghe Club, (London, 1916). The County Record Office, Kendal, Cumbria, hold a set.
- 6 George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, 1590-1676, Her Life, Letters and Work, second edition, (Kendal, 1922).
- 7 Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, (London, 1956), in pp.123-166.
- 8 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, Lady Anne Clifford 1590-1676, (London, 1975).
- 9 R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676): A Reappraisal', Northern History, XV, (1979), pp.43-65.
- 10 J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.33. Inscription to centre panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, and inscription to left panel, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.494.

- 11 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.34-35. Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, pp.127-128.
- 12 Martha C. Howell, Women and Patriarchy, p.20.
- 13 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.32.
- 14 Printed as a frontispiece to J. P. Gilson, Lives. Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.277.
- 15 Ralph A Houlbrooke, The English Family, pp.112, 148. 'She was blessed by the education and tender care of a most affectionate deare and excellent Moother who brought her up in as much Religion, goodnes, and knowledg as hir seakts and yeares weare capable of', Inscription to left panel of Great Memorial Picture, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford p.495.
- 16 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.149.
- 17 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.6. Linda Pollock, A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children over Three Centuries, (London, 1987), p.204.
- 18 Antonia Fraser, The Weaker Vessel, (London, 1984, reprinted 1986), p.135.
- 19 Joan Kelly, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', Women, History and Theory, (London, 1984), p.35.
- 20 See annotation to the left wing of The Great Memorial Picture in the Catalogue No. 2.5, pp.339-342 for list of titles and editions of books which formed her education.
- 21 'Between 1586 and 1598 he went to see in nine ventures' according to the inscription to the centre panel of The Great Memorial Picture. G.C. Williamson, George, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), His Life and Voyages, (Cambridge, 1920), p.243. T.D. Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, 1805, third edition Ed. A.W. Morant, (London, 1878), p.357. Lawrence Stone, Crisis pp.164, 252, 364-365.
- 22 Joyce Youings, Social History, p.331.
- 23 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.16.
- 24 R. T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.45.
- 25 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.xxiii.
- 26 Patricia Crawford, 'From the Woman's View: Pre-industrial England, 1500-1750', Exploring Women's

- Past, Ed. Patricia Crawford, (Carlton, South Victoria, Australia, 1983), p.61.
- 27 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.24, 36. Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, p.128. Inscription to centre panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.492.
 - 28 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.3.
 - 29 Ibid., p.5.
 - 30 Ibid., pp.6-7, 11-12, 13, 16.
 - 31 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, pp.164, 295, Appendix XXI, p.778, note 7. R. T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.45.
 - 32 George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.33. Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.9.
 - 33 Summary of the Will of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, in Appendix I, Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.456-457.
 - 34 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.11.
 - 35 Will of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, Appendix 1, Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.456-457. R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.46.
 - 36 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.54. Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.12. Inscription to centre panel of Great Memorial Picture, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.490.
 - 37 Inscription to left panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.495.
 - 38 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p. 43.
 - 39 Inscription to left panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.494.
 - 40 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. 38.
 - 41 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. xii.
 - 42 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. xiv.
 - 43 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.27. Inscription to left panel of

- Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.494. Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.17.
- 44 Ralph A Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.237.
- 45 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. 38. Left panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.494. Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.12.
- 46 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.17.
- 47 Sketch 11.5/8 x 7 ins. marked '24 252: v' for costume for Berenice in the Masque of Queens, 1609, in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, identified as for Lady Anne Clifford. Costume described as green, carnation and white. The head was traced with a point for transference. (Walpole Society, XII, (1924), p.40).
- 48 J.A. Sharpe, Early Modern England, p.29.

REFERENCES AND NOTES TO CHAPTER 8: MARRIAGE FOR AN HEIRESS

- 1 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.xxvi.
- 2 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.36.
- 3 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.xxviii, note. Letter from Lady Anne at Grafton, to her mother at Brougham, late August 1605, quoted in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.76.
- 4 I, i, 43 and I, i, 47-52, Midsummer Night's Dream.
- 5 Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.259.
- 6 H.M.C. Fourth Report, p.310, 14 March 1608.
- 7 H.M.C. Fourth Report, p.310, 14 March 1608.
- 8 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.709.
- 9 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.68. G.C.Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.83.
- 10 John Aubrey, Brief Lives, pp.100, 266.
- 11 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.39-40. Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.265, quoting BL. Harleian MS. 1649.
- 12 John Aubrey, Brief Lives, pp. 40, 98, 100, 101, 226.
- 13 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.106.
- 14 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.103.
- 15 Stone, An Open Elite?, p.315.
- 16 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.41.
- 17 Inscription to left panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.495.
- 18 Inscription to Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.496. Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, pp.32-33. J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.29.
- 19 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.62.
- 20 Ibid., pp.62, 65.
- 21 On 2 October 1619 she thought she was 'quick with

- child', Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.107. Inscription to left wing of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.495.
- 22 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, pp. 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 36, 44, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 72, 75, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 93, 105, 108, 110.
- 23 Inscription to Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.495.
- 24 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.137.
- 25 Dorothy McLaren, 'Marital Fertility and Lactation, 1570-1720', Women in English Society 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), p.43. Lady Anne changed the Lady Margaret Sackville's wet-nurse at ten months, because of the ill-health of the nurse (Letter from Lady Anne, at Bolebroke to her mother at Brougham, dated 1 May 1615, quoted by Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.148).
- 26 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.30.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 39, 60, 61, 82, 83, 86, 95.
- 28 Inscription to Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.496.
- 29 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.18.
- 30 Ibid., pp.18-19. My reading of Lady Anne's youthful diary and my knowledge of the Russell family inclines me to agree with J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.xxv, that 'My Coz. Russell' was Francis, later fourth Earl of Bedford.
- 31 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.237.
- 32 Letter from Lady Anne to her mother 20 January 1616, quoted by Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.153-4.
- 33 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.19.
- 34 Ibid., p.20.
- 35 Ibid., p.20.
- 36 Ibid., pp.20-21.
- 37 Ibid., pp.20-21.
- 38 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.42.

- 39 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.21.
- 40 Ibid., pp.22-23.
- 41 Ibid., p.23, quoted by Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.265.
- 42 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.23.
- 43 Ibid., pp.25, 27.
- 44 Ibid., p.25.
- 45 Ibid., pp.26-27.
- 46 Ibid., p.27.
- 47 Ibid., pp.27-28. Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.265.
- 48 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.29.
- 49 Ibid., p.28.
- 50 Ibid., p.44.
- 51 Ibid., p.75.
- 52 Inscription to centre panel, Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.491. Will brought to Knole by her servant Kendal, Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.32.
- 53 Younger brother to John, Lord Russell (c.1550-1584), second husband to Elizabeth Cooke.
- 54 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.32.
- 55 Ibid., p.32. G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.95.
- 56 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.33. Will of Dowager Countess of Cumberland, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, Appendix II, p.459.
- 57 Inscription to centre panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Lady Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.490-1.
- 58 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.44.
- 59 Ibid., p.45.
- 60 D.E.L. Haynes, The Arundel Marbles, (Oxford, 1975),

pp.3-4. The Earl of Arundel subsequently added greatly to this collection, part of which is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

- 61 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.38.
- 62 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.41.
- 63 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.42.
- 64 Ibid., pp.48-49.
- 65 Ibid., p.48.
- 66 Ibid., p.50.
- 67 Ibid., p.50.
- 68 Ibid., p.50.
- 69 Ibid., p.51.
- 70 J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.44. Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, pp.135-136. Doris Mary Stenton, The English Woman in History, (London, 1957), p.70. R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.46.
- 71 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, pp.53-54.
- 72 Ibid., p.51.
- 73 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.44.
- 74 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.37.
- 75 R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.53.
- 76 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.73.
- 77 Ibid., p.70.
- 78 Ibid., p.80.
- 79 R.T. Spence, in conversation.
- 80 Martha C. Howell, Women, and Patriarchy, p.20.
- 81 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, pp.68-69.
- 82 Ibid., p.69.
- 83 J.P. Gilson, Lives, pp.44-45. Dorset willed all his estates to his brother, the new Earl of Dorset. He willed portions for his daughters of £6,000 and £4,000

- respectively. (Will of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, dated 26 March 1624, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Bryde 27, quoted by Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.209-210).
- 84 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.76.
 - 85 Ibid., p.72.
 - 86 John Aubrey, Brief Lives, Ed. Richard Barber, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982, p.105, cited by Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.213.
 - 87 Dorset's spending power was calculated as the £17,000 King's Award, paid to him in full by 23 June 1619, an income of about £6,000 a year, plus £80,000 from land sales by Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.583, citing C.J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.266.
 - 88 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.65.
 - 89 Ibid., p.62.
 - 90 Ibid., p.63.
 - 91 Sara Heller Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and occasional memoirs', Women in English Society 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), p.190.
 - 92 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, pp. 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 100, 101.
 - 93 Ibid., p.102.
 - 94 J.P.Gilson, Lives, p.xxvii, quoting BL. Harleian MS. 7001, f.212.
 - 95 J.P.Gilson, Lives, p.45. Inscription to right panel of Great Memorial Picture, sub Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.497.
 - 96 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.47.
 - 97 Summary of Will of Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, dated 26 March 1624, proved 1 April 1624 by Sir George Ryvers, one of the executors, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Bryde 27, printed in Appendix III of Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.460.
 - 98 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.45-46.
 - 99 G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.410-414.

- 100 John Baker, Stoneland, July 13, 1663, quoted by Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, p.406.
- 101 Martha C. Howell, Women and Patriarchy, p.15.
- 102 Martha C. Howell, Women and Patriarchy, p.20.
- 103 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.112.
- 104 Inscription to left panel of Great Memorial Picture,
sub Lady Anne Clifford, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.495. J.P. Gilson, Lives, pp.45-46.
Inscription to right panel of Great Memorial Picture,
sub Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset,
printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.497-498.

REFERENCES AND NOTES TO CHAPTER 9: WIDOWHOOD AND REMARRIAGE

- 1 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.47.
- 2 Barbara J. Todd, 'The Remarrying widow: a stereotype reconsiderd', Women in English Society 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), p.75.
- 3 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.46-47.
- 4 Ibid., p. 6.
- 5 Ibid., pp.46-47
- 6 Ibid., p.48.
- 7 Ibid., p.55.
- 8 Ibid., pp.48-49.
- 9 Ibid., p.49.
- 10 Ibid., p.49.
- 11 John Aubrey, Brief Lives, p.145.
- 12 Lawrence Stone, Crisis pp. 618-619, p.712.
- 13 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, pp.618-619.
- 14 John Aubrey, quoted in Nikolaus Pevsner, revised by Bridget Cherry, The Buildings of England: Wiltshire, (Harmondsworth, 1975), p.582.
- 15 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.40.
- 16 Ibid., p.50.
- 17 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.127.
- 18 Neville Williams, All the Queen's Men: Queen Elizabeth and Her Courtiers, (London, 1972), p.27.
- 19 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.50.
- 20 This fall-back position from his own acquisition of Lady Anne's inheritance was Pembroke's additional reason for entering the marriage. Lady Isabella's refusal of an alliance with one of his sons was the most bitter cause of enmity between Pembroke and Lady Anne. J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.52.
- 21 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.52-53.

- 22 Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, p.147.
- 23 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.50.
- 24 Ibid., p. 40.
- 25 Ibid., p. 51.
- 26 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.43.
- 27 J. P. Gilson, Lives p. 51.
- 28 Obligation to complete three monuments dated Thursday 30 November 1619 served on William Cure II and Edward Cure, by Francis, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, later fourth Earl of Bedford; Fourth Earl's Papers no. 10i-ii, Bedford Settled Estates, London. Acknowledgement is made to the Marquis of Tavistock and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates. I am grateful to Bernard Barrell for drawing my attention to this contract.
- 29 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.50-51.
- 30 Ibid., p.52.
- 31 Ibid., p.38.
- 32 Ibid., p.52.
- 33 T.D. Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, 1805, (3rd ed. Ed. A.W. Morant, London, 1878), pp.339-353.
- 34 Ibid., p.343. G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.493.
- 35 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.52.
- 36 Ibid., p.54.
- 37 Ibid., p.54.
- 38 George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.184.
- 39 Will of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Pembroke 1, proved 1 March 1694/50, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, Appendix IV, p. 462.
- 40 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, Appendix XXII, p.779, notes.
- 41 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, Appendix XXVA, p.785.
- 42 C.S.P. Dom., 1649-1650, p.505.

- 43 Inscription on tablet on wall of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral.
- 44 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.40.

REFERENCES AND NOTES TO CHAPTER 10: THE BUILDER OF THE OLD
WASTE PLACES

- 1 Barbara J. Todd, 'The remarrying widow: a stereotype reconsidered', Women in English Society, 1500-1800, Ed. Mary Prior, (London, 1985), p.75.
- 2 As well as Bolebroke Castle, Sussex, and Little Dorset House, London, Lady Anne received rents from Sackville lands in Sussex of £250 in 1665. In addition to her agreement with Pembroke releasing his right to lands worth £5,000 from her Craven estates, she received rents of £310 in 1665 from Herbert lands in the Isle of Sheppey. (Audited summary of Lady Anne Clifford's accounts for 1665, taken from her Account Book, Kendal Record Office, WD/HOTH, printed in R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', p.64). Presumably she received jointure rents of some £250 every year from 1624, and approximately £560 a year from 1650 until her death in 1676.
- 3 'Let her build what she will, she shall have no hindrance from me', Cromwell quoted by Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.198.
- 4 Stone, An Open Elite?, pp.340-341.
- 5 Skipton and Barden Tower 1650-1659, J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.56, 71, 82, 87.
- 6 Appleby 1651-1662, J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp. 58, 64, 71.
- 7 Brougham 1651-1662, J.P. Gilson, Lives, pp. 58, 66, 84, 100.
- 8 Brough 1659-1660, J.P. Gilson, Lives, pp.86, 89.
- 9 Pendragon, destroyed by raiding Scots in 1341, rebuilt 1660-1662. J.P. Gilson, Lives, pp. 89, 97, 101.
- 10 R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', pp.48-49, citing J. Charlton, 'The Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676)', Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation: Essays presented to A.J. Taylor, Ed. M.R. Apter, R. Gilyard-Beer and H.D. Saunders, (1977), pp.303-14.
- 11 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.58.
- 12 Local corruption for 'the Church of St.Ninian', seventeenth century and twentieth century.
- 13 J. P. Gilson, Lives, for Appleby see pp. 70, 78; for Skipton see p.71; for Bongate see p.82; for Ninekirks

- see p.86; . for Brough see p.89; for Brougham see p.98;
for Mallerstang see p.111.
- 14 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.58.
 - 15 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.157.
 - 16 Funeral sermon by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle,
quoted by J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. xxxii.
 - 17 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.110-111.
 - 18 Panel over the entrance to Skipton Castle.
 - 19 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. 66.
 - 20 Ibid., p. 59.
 - 21 Ibid., p. 60. Doris Mary Stenton, The Englishwoman in
History, (London, 1957), pp.71-72.
 - 22 Lawrence Stone, The English Revolution, p.84.
 - 23 G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.198.
 - 24 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.56-57.
 - 25 Ibid., pp.56-57, 65, 73, 76, 78, 115. R.T. Spence,
'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal', pp.48-50.
 - 26 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.77.
 - 27 Ibid., p.xxxiii, note.
 - 28 R.T. Spence, 'Lady Anne Clifford: A Reappraisal',
pp.49-50. G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford,
pp.308-13, 326-328. WD/HOTH, Kendal Record Office, Lady
Anne Clifford's Account Book 1665-1668.
 - 29 See Catalogue no. 2.6, p.349 for description of silver
medallion.
 - 30 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.23.
 - 31 Will of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess Dowager of
Pembroke, Montgomery and Dorset, dated 1 May 1674, at
Pendragon Castle, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne
Clifford, Appendix V, pp.465-471.
 - 32 T.D. Whitaker, The History and Antiquities of the
Deanery of Craven, 1805, (3rd ed. Ed. A.W. Morant,
London, 1878), p.429.
 - 33 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.71.

- 34 Ibid., p.70.
- 35 Ibid., p.78.
- 36 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.410.
- 37 Kendal Record Office WD/Hoth, Lady Anne's Account Book 1665-1668. I am grateful to Miss V A J Slowe, Deputy Director, Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria, for this reference.
- 38 Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.157.
- 39 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p. 124. Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, p.158.
- 40 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.116-117; 119-120.
- 41 Ibid., pp.119-120.
- 42 Linda Pollock, A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children over Three Centuries, (London, 1987), pp.12, 32-33, printing Finch Hatton Papers 4412, Northamptonshire Record Office. Visit to Brougham by Margaret, Countess of Thanet and Lord Nicholas Tufton, later third Earl of Thanet, in 1653; J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.65.
- 43 J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.146-147.
- 44 Will of Lady Anne, Dowager Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, dated 1 May 1674, at Pendragon Castle, proved at Doctors Commons, 3 April 1676, witnessed by George Sedgewick, printed in Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, Appendix V, p.465.
- 45 G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.410-414.
- 46 Ibid., p.166.
- 47 Ibid., p.465.
- 48 Ibid., p.412.
- 49 Bishop Edward Rainbow, title of sermon at funeral of Lady Anne Clifford, quoting Prov.XIV,1; Sermon printed in Carlisle Tracts, 1839; quoted by J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.xxxi.

CATALOGUE OF COMMISSIONED MEMORIALS

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Memorials commemorating Elizabeth Cooke

- (i) On the monument to her father SIR ANTHONY COOKE 314
(1505-1576)
located in the Church of St. Edward the Confessor,
Romford, London Borough of Havering
erected c.1576-1579
attributed to Cornelius Cure (d.1607) of
Southwark, London.
- (ii) On the monument to Sir Edward Hoby's family,
THE EAST WINDOW OF THE HOBY CHAPEL, All Saints,
Bisham, Berkshire, installed in 1609 by Sir
Edward Hoby, her elder son.
- (iii) On the monument to FRANCIS RUSSELL, SECOND EARL
OF BEDFORD (d.1585)
located in the Bedford Chapel, St. Michael's,
Chenies, Buckinghamshire
erected in 1620
known work of William Cure II (d.1632) of
Southwark, London.
2. Monuments erected by Lady Anne Clifford
(1590-1676)
- 2.1 FRANCES BOURCHIER (1586-1612) 315
located in Bedford Chapel, St. Michael's,
Chenies, Buckinghamshire
erected 1615
attributed to Max Colt (fl.1600-1641) of
St. Bartholomew the Great, London.
- 2.2 LADY MARGARET CLIFFORD, Countess Dowager of 320
Cumberland, (1560-1616)
located in St. Lawrence's, Appleby, Cumbria
erected in 1617
attributed to Max Colt (fl.1600-1641) of
St. Bartholomew the Great, London.
- 2.3 EDMUND SPENSER (1552-1599) 326
located in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey,
London
erected 1620
known work of Nicholas Stone (1583-1647) of
Long Acre, London.
- 2.4 SAMUEL DANIEL (1562-1619) 332
located in St. George's, Beckington, Somerset
erected c.1631
attributed to Edward Marshall (1598-1675) of
Fetter Lane, London

- 2.5 THE GREAT MEMORIAL PICTURE (1646) 337
 Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery, (1590-1676)
 located in Appleby Castle, Cumbria
 commissioned in 1646
 attributed to Jan van Belcamp (fl.1624-1652,
 d.1653).
- 2.6 LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, Countess Dowager of Dorset, 349
 Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676)
 medallion in British Museum, London
 date c.1651-1655.
- 2.7 LADY MARGARET CLIFFORD, Countess Dowager of 352
 Cumberland (1560-1616)
 THE COUNTESS'S PILLAR is located by the side of
 the road A66 quarter a mile from Brougham Castle
 towards London
 erected 1656
 Mason Jonathan Gledhill of Cumbria.
- 2.8 GEORGE CLIFFORD, third Earl of Cumberland 356
 (1558-1605)
 located in Holy Trinity Church, Skipton,
 Yorkshire
 erected in 1655.
 known work of John Ellis of Skipton.
- 2.9 LADY ANNE CLIFFORD, Countess Dowager of Dorset, 365
 Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676)
 located in St.Lawrence's, Appleby, Cumbria
 erected in 1655
 attributed to local carver.
- 2.10 GABRIEL VINCENT, (d.1665/1666), steward and 373
 director of building to the Lady Anne Clifford
 located in St.Michael's, Brough, Cumbria
 laid down in 1666.
 attributed to local mason.

CATALOGUE

SECTION 1

MONUMENTS ERECTED BY ELIZABETH COOKE (1539-1609)
WHO MARRIED 1. SIR THOMAS HOBY, 2. JOHN, LORD RUSSELL

1.1 Persons commemorated

Pls. SIR THOMAS HOBY (1530-1566), half-brother and heir to
to Sir Philip Hoby, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador at the
6 French court of Charles IX, when he died on 13 July
1566.

SIR PHILIP HOBY (1505-1558), resident Ambassador at the
court of the Emperor Charles V. He died at his house in
Blackfriars, London, on 29 May 1558.

Location of the monument

The monument is in the newly built (1566) Hoby chapel,
at the altar end, against the south wall, over the
burial place of the half-brothers. The Hoby chapel was
built onto the south side of the Thames side church of
All Saints, Bisham, Berkshire.

Description of the monument

A rectangular alabaster tomb chest, the front surface of

which is divided into three recessed panels, separated by two strips of distinctive strapwork. The ends of the chest are divided into two panels by the same strapwork. Within the panels are displayed shields of arms surrounded by deeply carved scrollwork, and epitaphs in Latin and English verse. The two corners are given weight by pilasters of the Doric order, reeded at the lower end and fluted for the top third. A reredos to the tomb chest is set into the south wall of the chapel and takes the form of a semicircular, shallow coffered arch, with the achievement of arms on the wall at its summit. The achievement has not always been in this position, since a photograph of the monument ¹ shows a window immediately above the arch. Before the insertion of this window, the reredos had been higher up the wall to accommodate three heraldic shields at the lower end of the back plate. These have been partially removed. Within the curve of the arch are two inscription panels bearing Latin epitaphs to the two knights. Above the panels are two further epitaphs, which look as though they had been added when the work on the tomb was advanced, because they disrupt the design for the enclosure of text. The proportions of the architectural setting are elegant. The decoration is deeply and crisply carved.

On a rush mat on the tomb ledger lie the effigies of the

brothers, costumed as knights militaris with the figure of Sir Thomas prominent at the front of the tomb. Their heads rest on their helms, and they have badges of hunting hobby hawks at their feet. These expensive falcons are symbols of their high social status as well as being a play upon their name. The effigies are not laid conventionally recumbent, in an attitude of prayerful entreaty. The figures are turned towards the viewer in a reclining position, with the heads raised by the helms for clarity of view of the features. The faces are alertly alive with an open-eyed gaze. The prominence given the features suggests that they are intended to be portraits of the deceased. The limbs are arrested in graceful movement. The alabaster of the heads and hands is particularly pure in its whiteness, and is left unpainted. Unpainted also is the veined alabaster representing metal armour, which is decorated with red coloured representations of leather edging, with gold painted guilloche patterns on Sir Thomas's armour. His armour is additionally decorated with gold painted hobby hawks on the joints, and is altogether more splendid than the armour of the rear effigy.

Inscriptions

Under the tomb ledger, on the chest:

'Sr Philip married dame Elizabeth daughtr to Sr Waltr
Stonor/
and after worthy service done to his prince and his
country/

died without issue 31st May 1558 being of the age of 53/
at his house in Londo and fro the was conveyed hither.'

'Syr Thomas Hoby married with dame Elizabeth/
daughter to Syr Anthonye Cooke Knighte/
by whome he had issewe fower children/
Edward, Elizabeth, Anne and Thomas Posthumus,/
and being ambassador for Queen Elizabetha in Fraunce/
died at Paris the 13 of July 1566 of the age of 36/
leaving his wife great with child in a strange countrey/
who brought hym honourable home, built this chappell/
and laid him and his brother here in one tombe together'

Inscription in Latin on the wall behind the figures:

'ELIZABETHA HOBAEA CONJUNX THOMAM/
HOBAEUM, EQUITEM MARITUM./

Within the left gold bordered panel:

O DULCIS CONJUNX, ANIMAE PARS MAXIMA NOSTRAE,/
CUJUS ERAT VITAE, VITA MEDULLA MEAE./
CUR ITA CONJUNCTOS DIVELLUNT LIVIDA FATA?/
CUR EGO SUM VIDUO SOLA RELICTA THORO?/
ANGLIA FAELICES, FAELICES GALLIA VIDIT,/
PER MARE, PER TERRAS NOSTER ABIVIT AMOR,/
PAR FORTUNATUM FUIMUS DUM VIXIMUS UNA,/
CORPUS ERAT DUPLEX, SPIRITUS UNUS ERAT./
SED NIHIL IN TERRIS DURAT CHARISSIME CONJUX,/
TU MIHI, TU TESTIS FLEBILIS ESSE POTES./
DUM PATRIAE SERVIS, DUM PUBLICA COMMODA TRACTAS,/
OCCIDIS, IGNOTA TRISTE CADAVER HUMO./
ET MISERI NATI FLAMMIS FEBRILIBUS ARDENT./
QUID FACEREM TANTIS, HEU MIHI MERSA MALIS!/
INFAELIX CONJUX, INFAELIX MATER OBERRO,/
TE VIR ADEMPTE FLEO, VOS MEA MEMBRA FLEO./
EXEO FUNESTIS TERRIS, HINC RAPTA CADAVER/
CONJUGIS, HINC PROLIS LANGUIDA MEMBRA TRAHO./
SIC UTERUM GESTANS, REDEO TERRAQUE MARIQUE/
IN PATRIUM LUCTU PERDITA, MORTIS AMANS./
CHARE MIHI CONJUX, ET PRAESENTISSIME THOMA,/
CUJUS ERAT RECTUM, ET NOBILE QUICQUID ERAT;/
ELIZABETHA, TIBI QUONDAM GRATISSIMA SPONSA/
HAEC LACRYMIS REFERT VERBA REFERTA PIIS/
NON POTUI PROHIBERE MORI? SED MORTUA MEMBRA,/
QUO POTERO, FACIAM SEMPER HONORE COLI./
TU DEUS, AUT SIMILEM THOMAE MIHI REDDE MARITUM,/
AUT REDDANT THOMAE ME MEA FATA VIVO.'

Elizabeth Hoby to her husband Thomas Hoby, Knight.
O thou blessed shade, my soul's far dearer part,
Life of my life and solace of my heart,

Why such united loves did Fate divide,
 And leave to weep thy desolated bride?
 Ah envious Fate and too severe decrees,
 Than rocks more hard, more deaf than raging seas,
 Seas, rocks we travelled unmolested o'er
 Witness fair Albion and the Gallic shore;
 For ye beheld our joys, ah now no more.
 How happy then; or wishes, joys the same
 One soul inspirited our double frame.
 But ah, how short our pleasures here below,
 Thou the sad instance to my bleeding woe.
 While with a generous warmth and honest zeal,
 Studying the prince's and the public weal,
 To distant coasts thou roam'st and foreign lands,
 Black death arrests thee with his iron hands.
 Thy children's bowels burn with februous fires,
 Thy wife amidst a thousand griefs expires.
 Unhappy mother and unhappy wife
 Wretched to each the softest scenes of life;
 Hence from these fatal shores back I conveyed,
 A sick'ning offspring and a husband dead,
 Big with infant not yet born to light,
 Whose gentle smiles shall ne'er his sire delight.
 Dear man, endued with all that's good receive
 These tears, the last sad tribute I can give.
 From death no man can save and keep alive,
 Yet what I can thy fame shall Death survive.
 O would kind heaven, or one restore like thee
 Or Fate unite me to thy company.

Inscription on the centre panel front surface of the
 tomb chest:

'Two worthye Knights, and Hobies bothe by name,/
 Enclosed within this marble stone do rest./
 Philip, the fyrst, in Caesar's court hathe fame:/
 Such as to fore, few legates like possest./
 A diepe discoursing head, a noble brest:/
 A Courtier passing, and a curteis Knight:/
 Zealous to God, whos gospel he profest:/
 When gretest stormes gan dym the sacred light,/
 A happie man, whom death hath nowe redeemed/
 From care to joys that can not be esteemed./
 Thomas in Fraunce possest the legates place,/
 And with such wisdome grew to guide the same,/
 As had increst great honour to his race,/
 Yf sodein fate had not envied his fame./
 Firm in God's truth, gentle, a faithful frend:/
 Wel lernd and languaged; nature besyde/
 Gave comely shape, which made ruful his end./
 Sins in his floure in Paris towne he died,/
 Leaving with child behind his woful wief,/
 In forein land opprest with heapes of griff;/
 From part of which when she discharged was,/

By fall of teares that faithful wiefes do shead,/
The corps with honour brought she to this place,/
Perfourming here all due unto the dead;/
That doon this noble tombe she causd to make/
And both thes brethern closed within the same,/
A memory left here for vertues sake/
In spite of death to honour them with fame./
Thus live they dead, and we lerne wel thereby/
That ye and we, and all the world must dye.'

Inscription in Latin to the right, on wall behind the figures:

'ELIZABETHA HOBAEA, SOROR AD PHILIPPUM HOBAEUM, EQUITEM FRATREM.'/

Inscription within the gold bordered panel:

'TUQUE TUAE STIRPIS NON GLORIA PARVA PHILIPPE,/
CUJUS ERAT VIRTUS MAXIMA NOTA FORIS./
ITALA QUEM TELLUS NORAT, GERMANIA NORAT,/
QUI PATRIAE TULERAS COMMODA MAGNA TUAE,/
TUQUE MEO THOMA FRATER DIGNISSIME FRATRE,/
MENS QUIBUS UNA FUIT, SENSUS ET UNUS ERAT./
TU MIHI, TU THOMAS VOLUISTI JUNGERE FRATREM,/
JUDICIOQUE TUO SUM TIBI FACTA SOROR./
SIC EGO CONJUGIUM, SIC OMNEM DEBEO PROLEM,/
CUNCTA MIHI DEDERAS, HAEC TRIBUENDO DUO./
REDDERE QUID POSSUM, SUSPIRIA VANA RECUSAS,/
PRAETERITOQUE MALO SERA QUERELA VENIT./
FAELICIS ANIMAE COELI VOS REGIA CAEPIT,/
MORTUA NUNC CAPIET CORPORA FUNUS IDEM/
ET SOROR ET CONJUNX VOBIS COMMUNE SEPULCHRUM,/
ET MICHI COMPOSUI, CUM MEA FATA FERENT,/
QUOD LICUIT FECI, VELLEMI MICHI PLURA LICERE,/
SED TAMEN OFFICIIS QUAESO FAVETO PIIS./
JAMQUE VALE CONJUNX, SEMPER MEA MAXIMA CURA;/
TUQUE PHILIPPE, MICHI CURA SECUNDA, VALE./
NON ERO VOBISCUM, DONEC MEA FATA VOCABUNT,/
TUNC CINERES VESTROS CONSOCIABO MEIS./
SIC, A SIC JUNCTOS MELIUS NOS BUSTA TENEBUNT,/
QUAM MEA ME SOLAM TRISTIA TECTA TENENT.'

Elizabeth Hoby, to her brother Philip Hoby, Knight.
Thou too, O Philip, glory of thy race,
O let a tender line thy marble grace,
And with thy brother's be thine honours joined,
Equal in praise as both alike in mind.
Thy services alike thy country boasts,
Nor e'er confined thy fame to distant coasts,
Wide reaches; thee the italic shores proclaim,

And Germany's no stranger to thy name.
 Thou dearest brother, and thou faithful friend
 Thou to my love's thy brother did commend;
 Thus to thy gifts a spouse and race I owe
 In giving this, thou didst my all bestow.
 What recompense? Shall I repay with sighs?
 Such empty things thy generous soul denies;
 And ah; too late the unavailing grief
 When sighs and tears can now yield no relief.
 Blessed souls, together you enjoy the sky,
 Together in one common urn shall lie.
 To you your comfort, Sister raised this bust,
 My brother, spouse, with you will mix her dust.
 Kindly these pious offices receive,
 O could I move but more I cannot give.
 And now my spouse, adieu, most loved, most dear,
 Brother adieu, thy sister's second care,
 When Fate shall call, my better house the grave
 With yours my ashes shall united have;
 Better, ah, better far with thee to sleep, Than sadly
 solitary live and weep.

Translation in church guide, The Story of All Saints:
 the Parish Church of Bisham, H.A. Jones, revised
 H.Douglas Sim, (Marlow, 1967), pp.9-10.

Heraldry

The heraldry is painted in its proper colours. For the
 identification of these coats, see Peter Begent, The
 Heraldry of the Hoby Memorials in the Church of All
 Saints, Bisham, Royal County of Berkshire, 1979,
 obtainable from the Heraldry Society of London.

There are indications of a walled up window which, when
 cut into the wall, had caused the reredos plate to be
 lowered, so that the three heraldic shields at the
 bottom of it were lost to view behind the tomb.

Dimensions of the monument

length at base extremities 79 inches plus width of two

steps 13 inches
height from floor to tomb ledger 50 inches
height of tomb chest 36 inches
width of rush mat and therefore length of effigy plus
bird 70 inches
width (depth) of tomb chest 53 inches plus edge of
ledger 8 1/2 inches
length of effigy of Sir Thomas Hoby 66 inches.
depth of effigy at head of Sir Thomas 17 inches
Height above top of steps overall 126 inches or 10 feet
6 inches
Height to top of barrel vault 108 inches or 9 feet.

Date of erection of the monument

There was no reason to anticipate the sudden death of Sir Thomas, so that prior provision for a monument at the outset of his career was unthinkable. Indeed, the inscriptions provide evidence that they were written in England after the funeral of Sir Thomas and after the birth of his posthumous son. To judge from the speed of erection of the Hoby Chapel, the widow was urgent in her desire to commemorate her husband. It is likely that this impulse caused the immediate commission of his monument. Allowing for tomb building, late 1567 is the earliest possible date, with a further possible three years to accomplish the work involved. Its probable date of erection was therefore c. 1568/9.

Tomb builder

A major feature of this monument is the outstanding distinction of the carving of the effigies, which look French. Lady Elizabeth Hoby may have commissioned them while she was at the French court, in July and August 1566, perhaps from the workshop of Pierre Bontemps, as Margaret Whinney thinks ² but she does not mention stone effigies as forming part of her goods in the bill for transportation charges which she gave the Crown in September 1566. ³ More surprising, if the effigies were in the church by 2 September 1566, they were not mentioned in the detailed document which tells of the burial in the vault on that day. ⁴ The French appearance of the effigies owes most to the poses, and the characterizations inherent in the poses depended upon the patron. She had seen the French royal tombs and other French Renaissance sculpture in the Loire Valley chateaux when she accompanied the French court there during the 1566 embassy. It seems very likely that she was responsible for importing the French idiom to Bisham and for instructing a London workshop sympathetic to that style on the presentation of the figures.

The workshop most likely to provide a quality of carving so much above the current English level of competence is

that of William Cuer or Cure (1515-1579), who was then resident in Southwark, and who had been 'sent for over hither [from Amsterdam] when the Kinge did byuld Nonesutche' (1541).⁵ William Cure worked at Non such, which emulated Fontainebleau, so that his style must have been compatible with that idiom for him to be especially engaged on Non such. There is no surviving carving identifiable as his from Non such, nor is there any tomb which is securely documented to him. There are a number of tombs in and around London of some distinction which may be his. We know that the classical architectural setting was English because of the other two chests in London made to the same pattern. The effigies on these three tombs are distinct from one another, suggesting that they were carved by different hands, using the same workshop patterns for tomb chests. We know that Cure was heavily engaged on the Renaissance-style Somerset House, between 1547-52,⁶ so that Cure's style may well be described as French Renaissance.

There are two other tomb chests of the same pattern as Sir Thomas's. One is for the Duchess of Suffolk (d.1559) which is dated as being erected in 1563, in St.Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London. The other is for Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury (d.1568), in the church of St.John the Baptist, Erith, Bexley, Gt.

London. It is likely that Sir Thomas's chest was made between these two, giving three of very close date, by the same workshop.

If Lady Elizabeth Hoby commissioned the effigies after her return to England as the inscriptions suggest, she is likely to have sought advice on a tomb builder from her powerful brother-in-law, Sir William Cecil, Lord Treasurer Burghley, (who had been an executor of the Will of Sir Philip with Thomas Hoby and Sir Richard Blount, whose monument in St. Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London, may be by Cure), since she turned to him for advice on very many occasions of family concern. He is known to have favoured Cure,⁷ so that it is likely she would have followed his patronage lead. Her other brother-in-law, Lord Keeper Bacon, was also using Cure at this time to build a fountain which was completed in 1568 for Redgrave Hall. 'Sonne I have appointed that this bearer Cure whoe is the workman that made my fowntayn and is nowe come downe to set it vp and his servauntes should be lodged and borded with you. I think he wel end it in a fortnight or thre wekes at the furdest.'⁸ Lady Hoby is most likely to have adopted the patronage pattern of her eminent brothers-in-law to ally her sculptural activities with theirs, as well as accepting their endorsement of Cure as a competent sculptor. For reasons of patronage as well as for

reasons of style, William Cure seems the most likely tomb builder for the monument to Sir Thomas Hoby.

Literature on the tomb

Elias Ashmole, The Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. II, London, 1719, pp.464-469.

Piers Compton, The Story of Bisham Abbey, Thames Valley Press, Bath, 1979, p.85.

Mrs Arundel Esdaile, 'Berkshire Churches', p.69.

Mark Girouard, 'Alien Craftsmen' p.30.

James Lees-Milne, Tudor Renaissance, London, 1951, p.36.

J.G. Mann, 'English Monuments', pp.12-13, 14.

Diary of Lady Hoby p.14.

Eric Mercer, English Art, p.238.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Berkshire, p.88.

The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, pp.xv-xvi.

'Hackness MSS. and Accounts', Ed. J.W. Walker, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, XCV, (1937), p.3.

Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.9; note 30 on p.233; note 4 on p.234.

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', p.23.

Documents related to the monument

BL.Add. MSS. 18764, Draft bill of transport charges in returning from Paris to Bisham.

Draft bill for cost of funeral of Sir Thomas Hoby, College of Arms, London, MS. Vol. I, 13, f.77-78, f.179.

Photograph

Country Life Magazine, June 24, 1905, pp.906-14.

Commentary

Sir Thomas Hoby's widow brought his body home to Bisham for a funeral with full heraldic ceremony on 2 September 1566, the church and Hoby Chapel 'hanged to the ground with black clothe'.⁹ The body of Sir Philip Hoby was removed from another part of the church and interred with Sir Thomas in a vault under the Chapel.¹⁰ The riverside entry to the church gives rise to images of splendid water-borne funeral processions entering the church, and there is evidence that Hoby funerals approached in this manner: 'The ix day of Iune [1558] he [Sir Philip] was buried at Bissham, being conveyed thither by water' from his house at Blackfriars.¹¹ The epitaphs provide evidence for the sense of loss felt by the widow, who kept faith with her declared wish to mingle her dust with the Hobys by having herself buried in the same vault in spite of contracting a second marriage. Her motive in erecting the monument, evident in her careful scheme characterising the effigies, was to honour the achievements of her husband and to record his rising status as a diplomat, backed by the honoured career in diplomacy of his half-brother, to establish that status for herself and her four Hoby children.

References and notes

- 1 Country Life Magazine, June 24, 1905, pp.906-14.
- 2 Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.9.

- 3 BL. Add. MS. no. 18764.
- 4 Draft bill for the funeral, College of Arms, London, MS. Vol.I, 13, f.77.
- 5 Lionel Cust, 'Foreign Artists', p.69.
- 6 BL. Egerton MS. 2815.
- 7 Scheme for a funeral monument, dated 1562, annotated in Burghley's hand, Hatfield House, Herts. MS. Cecil Papers Maps II, 14.
- 8 Letter from Sir Nicholas Bacon to his son, 13 September 1568, Ernest R. Sandeen, 'The Building of Redgrave Hall', Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, XXIX, Ipswich, (1961), p.28. Cited by Mark Girouard, 'Alien Craftsmen', pp.30-31.
- 9 College of Arms, London, MS. Vol. I, 13, f.77.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, p.127.

1.2 Persons commemorated

Pl. 7 ELIZABETH HOBY (1562-1570) and ANNE HOBY (1564-1570), daughters of Sir Thomas Hoby and Lady Elizabeth Hoby, who had been with their parents on the embassy to France. ¹

Location of the monument

Their gravestone is on the floor of the Hoby Chapel, attached to the church of All Saints, Bisham, Berkshire. Lady Hoby set their stone in front of her monument to their father. ² Their memorial has since been moved, and is now on the floor of the aisle between monuments to both parents. Its position on the floor of the church has caused severe wear.

Description of the monument

It is a rectangular slab of polished black touche with incised scrollwork in the shape of a Roman funerary altar. Engraven within this shape is the Roman proportioned lettering of their mother's poignant epitaph to them.

Inscription

'1570

ELIZABETHAE HOBEAE, MATRIS, IN/
OBITUM DUARUM FILIARUM ELIZABETHAE,/
ET ANNAE, EPICEDIIUM./

ELIZABETHA JACET, (EHEU MEA VISCERA) FATO/
VIX DUM MATURO VIRGO TENELLA JACES./
CHARA MICHI QUONDAM VIXISTI FILIA MATRI,/
CHARA DEO POSTHAC FILIA VIVE PATRI,/
MORS TUA CRUELIS, MULTO CRUDELIOUS ILLUD,/
QUOD CECIDIT TECUM JUNIOR ANNA SOROR./
ANNA PATRIS MATRISQUE DECUS, POST FATA SORORIS,/
POST MATRIS LUCTUS, AUREA VIRGO JACES!/
UNA PARENS, PATER UNUS ERAT, MORS UNA DUABUS,/
ET LAPIS HIC UNUS CORPORA BINA TEGIT,
SIC VOLUI MATER TUMULO SOCIARIER UNO,
UNO QUAS UTERO LAETA GEMENSQUE TULI./

ISTAE DUAE GENEROSAE, OPTIMAEQUE SPEI/
SORORES, EODEM ANNO, VIZ 1570./
EODEMQUE MENSE, VIZ FEBRUARIO,/
PAUCORUM DIERUM SPATIO/
INTERJECTO, IN DOMINO/
OBDORMIVERUNT.'

The text on the gravestone is very damaged, but it also appears in Elias Ashmole, Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. II, 1719, pp.462-476.

Elizabeth lies here: alas my own offspring, thou liest here, a girl scarcely full grown. As thy life was dear to me thy mother, so mayst thou live henceforth dear to God thy father. Thy death was cruel, yet more cruel still the fate which befell thy younger sister Anne.

Anne, glory of thy father and mother, since the death of thy sister, and thy mother's grief, thou liest here, thou golden child! One mother, one Father, and now one death embraces you both, and one stone here covers you both. This was my wish, that you should be buried together; the wish of the mother who bore you both in her womb to her joy and sorrow.

These two sisters of high birth and excellent promise fell asleep in God in the same year, 1570, and the same month of February, within a few days of each other.

Heraldry

There is none, as was decorous for their youth and status as daughters of gentry parents.

Dimensions of the monument

48 1/2 x 22 1/2 inches.

Date of erection

The inscription suggests an immediate response to the deaths of the girls, and indeed the stone carries the date 1570.

Tomb builder

The damaged gravestone makes attribution difficult, but the style and quality of engraving are very good, and indicates a London workshop, most probably the Southwark workshop which Lady Hoby had already patronised.

Literature on the tomb

Elias Ashmole, The Antiquities of Berkshire, 2 vols. Vol. II, London, 1719, pp.470-471.

Document

College of Arms MS. Cl2, Visitation of Berkshire 1665-66.

Commentary

The death of these sisters within a few days of each

other in 1570 was an instance of the helplessness of Elizabethans before the onslaught of sudden illness and death. Death was an ever present threat. The concept of the classical memorial to the individuality of her daughters bears the stamp of Lady Hoby's personality. This simple, elegant slab reveals how steeped in classical thought the patron was. The explicit grief was pagan classical. The idea of burial in one grave, return to one Father, for those who had come from one womb was a recall of classical freedom of expression by which grief was christianised and made acceptable to the pious. Lady Hoby meticulously observed custom governing the kind of tomb which was considered appropriate to her daughters' youth and status. This was later recorded as: 'Persons of the meaner sort of Gentry were interred with a flat gravestone comprehending the name of the defunct, and yere and day of his decease, with other particulars, which was engraven on the said stone, or upon some plate.³ All that the patron was permitted in a decorative scheme was the inscription on the stone. The inscription she ennobled with Renaissance recall of classical Roman lettering, in the Latin language. Within the constraints set by decorum, this monument is distinguished. Although the patron showed deliberate restraint in commemorating Elizabeth and Anne Hoby, she later saved their memory from negligible status by incorporating their figures into her own sumptuous

monument c.1600-1606.

References and notes

- 1 Epitaph on monument to Sir Thomas Hoby describes one of them as ill when Lady Elizabeth brought them home.
- 2 Elias Ashmole, The Antiquities of Berkshire, II, London, 1719, p.470. BL. Ashmole MSS. 850, f. 271.
- 3 John Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments, p.10.

1.3 Persons commemorated

1881-8, 9 JOHN, LORD RUSSELL (c.1550-1584), second son and heir to Francis, second Earl of Bedford, and his first wife, Margaret St.John; second husband to Elizabeth Cooke, and the infant son and heir FRANCIS RUSSELL (c. 1579-1580), of this marriage.

Location of the monument

Against the south wall of St.Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.

Description of the monument

This massive monument in alabaster, touche and pink marble, used the force of architecture to describe the grandeur of Lord Russell. The triumphal arch provided a frame of classical honour for the effigy.¹ This form of structure had been erected along the route of Queen Elizabeth and foreign princes when they celebrated an entry to London², so that it was a building type familiarly associated with triumphal entries in London. Lord Russell's effigy is given a frame recalling Roman pomp, in its similarity to the Arch of Titus, with its columns on high bases and triumphal figures in the soffits. Two polished Corinthian columns support the

broken forward ends of the entablature, which provide the location for two shields of arms. Above the cornice, in the centre, is the achievement of arms. The columns on their bases are set at the height of the tomb ledger above an elaborately decorated sarcophagus, so that the monument is of towering height. Set into the wall is a semi-circular shallow coffered vault enclosing Lord Russell's arms supported by two female figures in sixteenth century mourning attire. These figures may be intended to represent his grieving daughters, supporting his house, since they were prominent in his funeral procession.³ These figures take the position usually allotted to figures of Fame, which support inscription tablets on Roman and Renaissance tombs.⁴ These displaced sepulchral guardians are located in the spandrels between arch and architrave, where they hold palm branches, signifying the Christian victory over death, and extend the laurel wreaths of antique victory over the effigy of Lord Russell, as though acknowledging his name and qualities. These mourning and allegorical figures are mirror images of one another, giving a classical symmetry to the composition. Above the arch is a winged lion's head and further lions' heads decorate the entablature. The sarcophagus is ornamented with lions' heads and claws, evoking the idea of the Egyptian lion sun-god who conquered death,⁵ so that the motifs show death vanquished by Egyptian, Roman and

Christian civilizations.

The life-sized effigy reclines on its side, in a pose recalling that of Sir Thomas Hoby, but without the grace of the latter figure. The reclining attitude of the Russell effigy, raised and tilted forward by resting the elbow on a cushion, with the hand against the cheek, is contradicted by the sculptural emphasis of the folds of the robe, which describe the attitude of a standing figure. It is not that the tomb builder has failed to adapt the fall of folds of cloth to show the relaxation of the reclining attitude as descriptive of courtly ease of manner. The folds are intentionally carved to represent the pose of a standing figure, and the feet are set at an angle to support the upright figure. Indication of a move towards the erect position held the spiritual meaning of potential resurrection, combining two seemingly irreconcilable poses.⁶ This pose is therefore an additional element of Christian spirituality infused into this carefully combined scheme of classical and Christian iconography. This meaning of victory over death has been missed in the supposed stiffness of the figure.

The pose also turns the face of the effigy to the viewer and this high degree of visibility suggests that the features are intended for a sculptural portrait of Lord

Russell. The prominence of the face is part of contemporary interest in portraiture, the most frequently used art form of the time. It cannot be accidental that the figure is six feet long, which is big for a block of alabaster. Lady Russell has commissioned a portrait of her husband, with this idealized image of him. The head is given painted blond curls, moustache and short beard, and blue eyes. His baron's robe ⁷ is gold and white banded scarlet, lined with white painted fur. The detail of costume designates the rank of the effigy with as much exactitude as John Weever claimed was important to the Elizabethans, 'that by the Tombe every one might bee disscerned of what ranke hee was living'. ⁸ The figure of the infant Francis ⁹ is set at his father's feet, in a pose of open-eyed reclining, with his feet positioned to stand up at the Resurrection. His infant feet are stoutly clad for this task.

Inscriptions and their location on the monument

Inscription on the panel above the central shield:

'CARMEN AERVMNOSAE MATRIS IN SVPERSTITES FILIAS.

PLANGITE NVNC NATAE, NVNC FLEBILE FVNDITE CARMEN,/
 OCCIDIT HEV VESTRAE GLORIA SOLA DOMVS./
 MORS RAPIT IMMITIS FLORENTVM STEMMATE CLARO,/
 PRAESIGNEM LITERIS, TVM PIETATE PATREM;/
 HAEREDI COMITIS QVM VOS SUCCRESCITE TALI,/
 ORTU, QVO NITVIT SED BONITATE MAGIS.'

A poem of an afflicted mother to her surviving daughters

Now weep, my girls, now make your pious moan/

Alas, the glory of your House has gone:/
 Death, hasty death, hath seized the stock that grew/
 And flourished with a stem of beauteous hue./
 Your sire, esteemed by all, by all desired,/

For learning and for piety admired./

Then you, his heirs, be what he was before/
 who shone by birth, but shone by virtue more.

Inscription in cursive Greek on left panel on tomb wall:

Νῦν ψυχῇ γλυκὺ τερπνὸν ἐμῆς, οἴκου τε
 [Φαεινόν

Πάτριδος ἡδὲ πόθον τῆδε κέκευθε κόνις.
 Φεῦ μὲν οἴῳραι χήρη, κοῦραι τε θύγατρες
 Τερπώλην ἡγῆς αἷς περιείχε θανῶν.

Εὐσεβίης ἔνεκα πλὴν ὀλβου σεμνὸς ἐπαυρεῖ

Οὐρανίου, μετόχους συγγενεὰς καλέων.
 The once bright glory of his house, the Pride/
 of all his country, dusty ruins hide:/
 Mourn hapless orphans, mourn once happy wife/
 For when he died, died all the joys of life./

Pious and just, amidst a large estate,
 He got at once the name of good and great./
 He made no flattering parasites his guest,
 But asked the good companions to his feast.

Inscription on the right panel on tomb wall:

'EIVSDEM IN EVNDEM LATINE

MENS MEA CRVDELI LANIATVR SAVCIA MORSV,/

CVM SVBIT OBLATAE MORTIS IMAGO TVAE,/

VERE NOVO HAERES COMITIS TV FLORIS AD INSTAR/
 VSQUE CADENS MISERAS MEQVE MEASQVE FACIS/
 QVIPPE DECOR VVLTVS, LINGVAE, MORISQVE PROBATI,
 TVM DOCTRINA PERIT, SED VIGET ALMA FIDES.'

One of the same lady on the same subject in Latin

How was I startled at the cruel Feast,/

By Death's rude hands, in horrid manner dressed;/

Such grief as sure no hapless woman knew,/

When thy pale image lay before my view./

Thy father's heir in beauteous form arrayed,/

Like flowers in spring, and fair, like them, to fade;/

Leaving behind unhappy wretched me,/

And all thy little orphan progeny:

Alike the beauteous face the comely air/
 The tongue persuasive,/

And the actions fair/
Decay; so learning too in time shall waste;/
But Faith, chaste lovely Faith,/
Shall ever last.

Inscription centre of the wall behind the figure:

'IN ALTO REQVIES'

On high may he rest

Cursive characters on left column plinth (base):

'CARMEN AERVMNOSAE MATRIS, DOMINAE/
ELIZABETHAE RUSSELLIAE, IN/
OBITUM FILII.'

'EN SOLAMEN QVI PATRIS PERGRATA VOLVPTAS,/
IPSA MEDVLLA MIHI, TRISTIA FATA TULIT./
O VTINAM MATER IACVISSEM LVMINE CASSA,/
SOLVISSETQ. PRIOR IVSTA SVPREMA MIHI./
CONQVEROR AT FRVSTRA, STATVIT QVIA NVMEN ID IPSVM/
ORBA VT TERRENIS SOLA SVPERNA PETAM.'

Poem of an afflicted mother, Elizabeth Russell, on the
death of her son

Behold! the Grandsire's Joy, his Sire's delight!/
My very soul, dire fate hath closed in night!/
O that the Almighty Will before this day,
From this vain world had taken me away!/
But I in vain expostulate with Jove,/
Who bids me only seek for joys above.

Cursive characters on right plinth of the column base:

'IN OBITVM HONORATISSIMI VIRI DO/
JOHANNIS RUSSELLIJ, SOCERI SUI/
CHARISSIMI ED. HOBIJ/
MILITIS EPICEDEUM.'

'MORS, RUSSELLE, TIBI SOMNO SUFFUDIT OCULOS,/
MENS TAMEN IN COELIS NESCIA MORTIS AGIT,/
QUI VITAM SANCTAM MELIORI FINE PEREGIT,/
VIUET, & EUICTA MORTE SUPERSTES ERIT./
QUIS, QUALIS, QUANTUS FUERIS TUA STEMMATA MONSTRANT,/
INTEGRA VITA DOCET, MORSQ. DOLENDI PROBAT,/
SAT SIT PRIUIGNO POSUISSE HAEC CARMINA PAUCA,/
TU SIBI MENTE PARENS, FILIUS ILLE TIBI.'

On the death of John Russell from his loving son-in-law,
Edward Hoby Kt.:

Ah, Russell! Death in sleep hath closed thine eyes;/

But thy free soul, far hence above the skies,/
 Expatiates; thoughtful now of death no more;
 Whose virtuous life hath taken care before/
 For such an end:/
 And having yielded breath,/
 Still lives a glorious conqueror over death./
 Who, and what man thou wast, thy race portend,/
 Thy virtuous life, and thy lamented end./
 Accept this verse I offer at thy stone;/
 You were my sire in love; and I your son.

Inscription on the sarcophagus in capital characters:

'RIGHT NOBLE TWYSE BY VIRTUE AND BY BIRTHE,/
 OF HEAVEN LOVD, AND HONORD ON THE EARTHE,/
 HIS COUNTRIES HOPE, HIS KINDREDS CHIEFE DELIGHTE,/
 MY HUSBANDE DEARE MORE THEN THIS WORLDES LIGHTE,/
 DEATH HATH ME REFTE: BVT I FROM DEATHE WILL TAKE/
 HIS MEMORIE, TO WHOM THIS TOMBE I MAKE./
 IOHN WAS HIS NAME; AH WAS; WRETCHES MVSTE I SAYE/
 LORDE RUSSELL ONCE;/
 NOWE, MY TEARE THIRSTY CLAYE.'

Translations printed in John Dart, Westmonasterium, I,
 (London, 1723), p.116.

Elizabeth, Lady Russell, has provided epitaphs to her husband and son which, like the iconography of the monument, combine christian with classical sentiments. She invokes a christian heaven with classical fervour, but there is no doubt of her genuine christian emotion. She writes one inscription in Greek, three in Latin and one in English. The use of classical languages must prompt thought of classical deities. Sir Edward Hoby wrote an epicedium on the death of Lord Russell, 1584, in Latin. ¹⁰

Heraldry

The achievement sited at the centre of the architrave

does not overwhelm the effigy or the scale of the architecture. Other shields of arms are incorporated into the architecture. Heraldry is annotated in John P. Neale, The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, II, (London, 1823), p.158.

Dimensions of the monument

Width of the monument 112 1/2 inches or 9 feet 4 1/2 inches
Height of monument from base to architrave 112 1/2 inches or 9 feet and 4 1/2 inches
Height to top of achievement 160 inches or 13 feet 4 inches
Length of effigy 6 feet
Depth from back wall 26 inches
Height from ground to base of sepulchre 17 inches
Height from ground to tomb ledger 24 1/2 inches
Height of the block of the effigy 22 inches
or a believable shoulder width for a six foot man.

The dimensions suggest that the patron has incurred the additional costs of a block large enough to present the living dimensions of her husband. Portraiture has been extended from the head to the full figure.

Date of erection

The inscriptions make it clear that thirty-four year old Lord Russell's death was a surprise to his wife, so that the commission for his tomb must postdate his death. On the assumption that the patron was urgent in her desire to commemorate, and that such a large monument would take about three years to build, it would be erected

c.1587.

Tomb builder

Some features of the Russell monument, like the Victories in the spandrels, and the treatment of gilt scrollwork, also appear on the monument to Mary, Queen of Scots, in Westminster Abbey, which is certainly the work of Cornelius and William Cure dated 1607-12.¹¹ The gold decorated volutes on the tomb of Lord Russell which end in the lions' claws are similar to those on Mary's tomb. A decorative vertical pattern appears on both. The treatment of the lion's head motif on the Russell monument is like the one used in the 1618-20 monument to Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick, at Chenies, which is documented to William Cure II.¹² On stylistic grounds, I would assign the carving of the architecture to William Cure II, but he shows himself in a group of three Russell tombs erected 1619-20 at Chenies to use sepulchral symbolism impartially, as decorative tomb motifs, without the careful assembly of elements in a coherent programme, which is seen on the monument to John, Lord Russell. I would therefore assign the main responsibility for that work to William's father, Cornelius Cure, who was master of the Cure workshop in Southwark at the time of construction of the tomb.

On 4 August 1587, Bridget Russell, Dowager Countess of Bedford, urged the acceptance of Cornelius Cure on Burghley's recommendation, as 'the best about the towne in that arte' for a monument to the second Earl of Bedford.¹³ This commission, which was not implemented, may have arisen from the Dowager Countess's knowledge of Cure's work on the tomb of that Earl's heir, the present monument. This evidence that Burghley recommended Cornelius Cure to the Russell family makes it highly probable that Elizabeth, Lady Russell, would wish to patronise the tomb maker who was the choice of her brother-in-law and of the late Earl's widow. On grounds of patronage as well as style, I would attribute this monument to Cornelius Cure, with his son William working on the architecture.

Literature on the tomb

William Camden, Reges, Reginae, Nobiles...sepulti, London, 1600, Sig.Fxi-xiii, handpainted shield of arms.

John Dart, Westmonasterium, I, London, 1723, p.115-116.

K.A. Esdaile, 'The Part played by Refugee Sculptors', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XVIII, (1952), p.257.

Diary of Lady Hoby, p.14.

John P. Neale, The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St.Peter, Westminster, II, (London, 1823), p.158-159.

Nikolaus Pevsner, revised Bridget Cherry, London, I, pp.432-433.

George Scharf, Russell Monuments, p.91.

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', pp.20-22.

Documents

The marshalling of the heraldic funeral in College of Arms MS. 1586-1603, Vol. I, ff.44-49 and ff.215-219.

Photograph

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', p.21. Photo. Courtauld Institute.

Commentary

John, Lord Russell, died of consumption ¹⁴ on 23 July 1584, only months before his father's death in 1585, and his son had predeceased him, so that the anticipated earldom moved from this family to Edward, the son of the third son of the second Earl of Bedford. The patron had expected marriage to Lord Russell to raise her to the status of Countess, and to provide very distinguished connections for her Hoby sons, as well as for the children of the marriage. Death again deprived her of social eminence. Elizabeth, Lady Russell, had to make the most of her husband's status as Baron ¹⁵, and heir to an earldom at his death. Burial in the Abbey interrupted the Russell family tradition of obsequies at Chenies, Buckinghamshire, where the Earls of Bedford had their mortuary chapel attached to the church of St. Michael. Lady Russell sought public recognition of Lord Russell through the heraldic funeral in the Abbey, and public attention to the family through the monument, where it would be noticed by 'peers and gentry up from the country' who flocked to see the sights of the Abbey.

¹⁶ The scale of her monument was intended to impress

the viewer with the importance of its subject, and she set a scale that few nobles could match in the final decades of the sixteenth century in Westminster.

References and notes

- 1 Henriette S'Jacob, Idealism, p.195.
- 2 Peter Burke, in a lecture given at Symposium on Renaissance Triumphs, Tower of London, 26 November 1983.
- 3 College of Arms, London, MS. 1586-1603, Vol. I, ff.44-49 and ff.215-219. Epitaph: 'Now weep my girls, now make your pious moan/ Alas the glory of your house is gone'.
- 4 Henriette S'Jacob, Idealism, p.245.
- 5 Ibid., p.245.
- 6 Ibid., p.26.
- 7 Robes identified as belonging to a baron by Ede and Ravenscroft, Chancery Lane, London, costumiers to the peerage.
- 8 John Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments, p.10.
- 9 Francis died 28 February 1580; W. Camden, Reges, Reginae et Nobilis in Ecclesia B. Petrus, Westmonsterij sepulti, London, 1600, Sig.Fxiii, with handpainted shield of arms.
- 10 BL. Add. MSS. 38828, f.48.
- 11 H.M. Colvin, Ed. The King's Works, p.120.
- 12 Obligation dated 30 November 1619 served upon William and Edward Cure by Lord Francis, second Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, fourth Earl's papers no. 10i-ii, Bedford Estates Office, London.
- 13 BL. Add. MS. 40629, ff.75-77.
- 14 BL. Egerton MS. 2148, f.184. George Scharf, Russell Monuments, p.91.
- 15 He was created Baron by writ of Parliament in 1581,

thus ennobling him as an individual. P.W. Hasler,
Ed. House of Commons, sub John, Lord Russell.

16 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.390.

1.4 Person commemorated

Ms. ELIZABETH RUSSELL (1575-1600), elder daughter of John,
11 Lord Russell, and Elizabeth Cooke. She died of
to
14 consumption on 1 July 1600, in the circumstances of
being passed over in favour of her younger sister in
plans for a glittering marriage on 16 June 1600.

Location of the monument

As the first born child of the heir to an earldom, Elizabeth rated something more than the grave slab stating the date of death appropriate to her half-sisters in Bisham, but she had no rank which entitled her to commemoration among the kings and their nobles in the Abbey. No doubt her birth in the Abbey with the Queen for godmother, her position at court, and the tragic timing of her death, inclined the ageing Queen to allow her interment there, so that the ceremonious nature of Elizabeth's birth was matched by the publicity given to her death. The problem of locating her memorial on a site within the Abbey was solved decorously, by the patron's using the space within the railing which once surrounded the tomb of John, Lord Russell, in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

Description of the monument

The patron was obliged to find a design which did not take much ground space and which did not obscure a plaque already on the adjacent wall. Her response to constraints of space produced a pillar design with one single side presented to the viewer of a sleeping Maid of Honour set on top of a Roman altar base. This design was a triumphant solution which even observed convention on the size of tomb suitably reflecting the status of the deceased. Weever had no doubt observed this monument, the first of its kind, when he later drew up his categories of types of monument. He specified pillars 'with a true resemblance on top as suited to the upper gentry'.¹

The enthroned figure is posed as being in the ambiguity between life and death of sleep. She has her eyes closed but rests her chin upon her right hand which is supported in tension by her elbow resting upon her right knee. The right leg is raised by having her foot rest upon the skull, the symbol of death. Reading down the figure, there are conflicting images of tension and relaxation, of life and death. The conflict is intentional, as the inscription confirms: 'DORMIT NON MORTUA EST' (She is sleeping not dead). The seated figure's image of enthronement is suffused with the

melancholy of her sleeping face and relaxed limbs. Although the prototype of the enthroned figure was Roman, this sleeping figure admits the Christian hope which restored to life Jairus's daughter ². The likening of death to sleep was an expression of unwillingness to accept the finality of death. In this image there is grief, as well as regret for the lost splendour of Elizabeth's career. Lady Russell's grief and sorrow were documented in her letter to Sir Robert Cecil declining his invitation to court in December 1600, saying: 'I there still come in tears in remembrance of her that is gone'. ³

The cylindrical base takes the form of a pagan altar, and exhibits knowledge of Roman sepulchral art. The decoration of the altar correctly uses Roman motifs of fruit and flower garlands suspended from the horns of animal skulls, with an eagle perched on the swag spreading its wings for flight. ⁴ The garland represents the fresh garlands which were hung round Roman funeral pyres. The buccrania represent the animals of sacrifice which were slaughtered on the altar for the welfare of the departing spirit. The eagle flying up from the pyre, is the divus of the ascending spirit. ⁵ There are Roman coins showing the spirit carried aloft by an eagle, and a diptych of c.AD450 in the British Museum shows eagles flying upward from a funeral pyre,

in the apotheosis of an emperor. Like the Roman altar tombs, Elizabeth Russell's monument adds ribbons to these symbols of the death of the body for the heroic life of the spirit, here used to carry the name of the subject and donor. The most likely source of information on the decoration of Roman tombs available to Lady Russell was an engraving in Jean-Jacques Boissard's Romanae Urbis Topographiae, Part IV of which was published in 1602, from which she may also have derived the pose of the figure.⁶ The antique scheme of spiritual apotheosis was used here in an English Renaissance form for the glorification of the life of the subject.

The nobility of Elizabeth was suggested by the richness of contrast of the white alabaster figure set against the polished black touche. This unpainted monument is perhaps the first in England to use a black and white colour scheme, which by the 1630s became such a popular means of treating sepulchral themes. Against the polychrome of her father's adjacent tomb, this colour restraint was striking.

The less-than-life-sized figure characterized Elizabeth by costuming her in turn-of-the-century court dress. Her costume was intended to represent a gift from the Queen. In 1598 the Maids of Honour were presented with

gowns in which to wait on Her Majesty, of velvet and satin cut and raised over silver chamblet.⁷ Elizabeth's sister Anne, also a Maid of Honour, was shown wearing a similar white dress in The Procession Picture of c.1601, at Sherborne Castle, Dorset, attributed to Robert Peake. These are perhaps sculptural and pictorial representations of the same gift to the Russell girls. The costume would be available to the artists for consultation. These white dresses of the Maids extended the impact of the Queen's own white dresses. The force of the costume on the monument was that it enshrined the Queen's favour, and underlined Elizabeth's proximity to the sovereign, in a society in which access to the Queen implied power.

A curious feature of the costume is the round toed shoes worn with pattens, normally intended to raise the wearer from the dust of the floor, but here used to raise her foot from direct contact with death, in the symbolic skull. Even this detail was calculated to distance the figure somewhat from death. The figure is seated upon a flower decorated osier stool. To testify to Roman use of this material is a third century Romano-British monument of a seated woman.⁸ With such costume annotation of Elizabeth Russell's status, there was no need for heraldry, particularly since her monument was 'within the rail of the Lord Russell's tomb'.⁹

Inscriptions and their location on the monument

On the black drum supporting the figure is engraved in gold:

'DORMIT NON MORTVA EST' She is sleeping not dead

On the curving folded ribbon, inscribed in black painted smaller Roman lettering:

'FOELICISSIME MEMORIAE SACRVM ELIZABETHAE RVSSELIAE
POSVIT ANNA SOROR MOERENS'

Most sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Russell placed by Anna the mourning sister.

Heraldry

The subject's identification as a Maid of Honour made heraldry unnecessary to defining her rank. The monument was in any case associated with the heraldry of her father's tomb.

Dimensions of the monument

Height from ground to base of alabaster pedestal 15 1/2 inches
Height of black altar drum 36 inches
Height of lower alabaster patterned band 9 1/2 inches
Height of upper alabaster patterned band 5 1/2 inches
Height of black polished motto drum 5 inches
Height of figure 48 inches
Height of monument 119 1/2 inches
Diameter at base of pedestal of squared black touche 28 inches

Date of erection of the monument

Elizabeth Russell died in 1600 and her monument is included in Camden's 1603 edition.¹⁰ If the source of the seated pose and the classical altar to Octaviae

Catulliae. was the engravings of Roman monuments in Jean-Jacques Boissard, the monument can be dated as 1602/3.¹¹

Tomb builder

The iconography of Christian and classical rebirth in which every detail adds to the programme, must have been commissioned of a man who could assemble meticulously the components of the programme. Cornelius Cure (c.1543-1607), English born son of William, was fitted to understand classical art, because he 'hath sen much worke in forrein places' and was 'full of inventions'.¹² The understanding of classical motifs is matched by highly competent carving, suggesting an acknowledged master of the craft.¹³ Again, it seems likely that Elizabeth, Lady Russell, would patronise Burghley's choice of stone carver, to ally her sculptural interests to his, as well as to implement competently her choice of design.

The modelling of Elizabeth's idealized face in repose, of large areas with little change of plane, is similar to Mary, Queen of Scots, monument, started in 1607 by Cornelius Cure¹⁴, who is likely to have carved the effigy. The treatment on both monuments of the sleeve folds and ruffs is also similar. On stylistic grounds

also, I would suggest Cornelius Cure as the sculptor of Elizabeth Russell's memorial.

Literature on the tomb

Jean-Jacques Boissard, Romanae Urbis Topographiae, 1-6, 1597-1602, (Part IV, 1602), p.70.

William Camden, Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, 1603, Sig.Giia.

John Dart, Westmonasterium, Vol. I, London, 1723, p.111.

George Scharf, Russell Monuments, p.98.

Dean Arthur P. Stanley, Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 5th ed., 1882, p.219.

Nikolaus Pevsner, revised Bridget Cherry, London, I, p.432.

Adam White, 'The Sculpture of Nicholas Stone', (Courtauld Institute, London, M.A. thesis, 1979), pp.11-12.

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', pp.20, 22-23.

Photographs

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', Figs. 2, 3, 5, pp.22-24 Photo. Courtauld Institute.

Engraving

John Dart, Westmonasterium, Vol. I, London, 1723, engraving no. 11 opposite p.115.

Commentary

Magnificent ceremony attended the birth and christening of Elizabeth Russell. A brilliant career was planned for this 'child of the Abbey', as she was called. Through Burghley, Lady Russell had secured places for

Elizabeth and her younger sister Anne, in the Queen's Privy Chamber.¹⁵ The visit of the Queen on a progress to Bisham Abbey in 1595 confirmed the arrangement.¹⁶ Lady Russell negotiated a match for Elizabeth with William, Lord Herbert, heir to the Earl of Worcester, with a proffered portion of £2,000.¹⁷ William died in 1598¹⁸, and when Lady Russell renewed negotiations with the Earl of Worcester, it was for a marriage between her younger daughter Anne and the new heir Henry, Lord Herbert Somerset.¹⁹ Anne, not Elizabeth, became Lady Herbert and later Countess, wife to the fifth Earl and first Marquis of Worcester. Anne thus secured the status which had been planned for Elizabeth as her father's heiress.

Elizabeth danced in the masque at her sister's wedding, after which she lay dying. The insistent questioning of the dying girl 'whether Mr Secretary had sent to know how she did'²⁰, shows the prime importance which this family gave to the Cecils in their roles as family friends. The high expectations and frustrated hopes of the mother are expressed in this monument to Elizabeth. The pose presents the disappointed mother's view of her elder daughter. Lady Russell had to agree to a few inches being cut off her monument to her husband to accommodate Elizabeth's memorial, confirming her involvement in the commission, if there was ever any

doubt of its being, as Dart wrote, 'the curious design of that ingenious family, Sir Anthony Cooke's' (referring to Lady Russell, his daughter). ²¹

The concept of a memorial as a single upright figure was amazing in the context of sculpture in England, where effigies were often accompanied by small figures of mourning relatives. It is less surprising within the context of this remarkable group of family tombs. This monument was the first of a new trend in England replacing in the early seventeenth century the architectural formulae with upright effigies based upon Michelangelo's sepulchral figures in Florence. ²² The receptiveness of Lady Russell to Renaissance ideas makes her an innovator within English sculptural patronage. Although the pose of Elizabeth Russell is not based on the pose of Giuliano de Medici in the New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, the idea that a seated figure could represent the deceased comes from that figure's recall of Roman antiquity. Lady Russell may have remembered seeing the French Renaissance seated figure of Charles de Maigny, 1557, by Pierre Bontemps, while she was at the French court in 1566, and she may have had that figure recalled by an engraving of Roman monuments in Jean-Jacques Boissard's Romanae Urbis Topographiae, Part IV, published in 1602. ²³ If so, she was searching for a Roman image of heroization, which here has been adapted

to the glorification of the life of her daughter. The ethos of the English Renaissance is complete in this self-confident abandon of the recumbent image of the body prepared for laying in earth. Lady Russell's earlier patronage produced images of the power of the life of the deceased through reclining postures. Here two images of power are invoked: that of enthronement and that of conquering death, symbolised by the skull on which the figure sets her foot. Although the figure is free standing, the composition has a strong frontal emphasis.

The melancholy of this monument was the first move away from the formal dignity of statements of grandeur of rank on Elizabethan tombs towards the high emotionalism of personal grief of the Baroque style. The epitaph claims that the monument was erected by Elizabeth's sister, the bride, Lady Herbert, which has a sense of reparation about it. Anne's part in the commission was to bear the charges of the tomb, which she could well do, and to lend her name to the monument as the highest ranking member of the family.

This lovely figure seated above a serene classical programme symbolising death and renewal, brings a new tenderness into English sepulchral art. The figure sleeps but is tensely ready for an awakening of the

spirit, explained in the symbolism of buccrania and the ascending eagle, to a fullness of spiritual life, symbolised by the fruit. The figure points to the skull, directing the viewer's attention to the idea that we must all die and that only through the death of the body can we reach full realisation of the spirit. This is a gentler concept of death as a continuation of human development and is based on Anglican theology of the expectation of a personal and individual resurrection. It is a beautifully composed programme of comfort.

References and notes

- 1 John Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments, p.10.
- 2 Matthew IX,24; Mark V,39; Luke VIII,52. I am grateful to Adam White for drawing my attention to this parallel meaning.
- 3 Letter from Elizabeth, Lady Russell, to Sir Robert Cecil, 8 December 1600, H.M.C. Salisbury MSS, X, p.412.
- 4 Illustrated examples are in the Warburg Institute, London, census of authenticated Roman tombs.
- 5 Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, (London, 1964), pp.35-36.
- 6 Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', pp.20-22, Fig. 5.
- 7 Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, London, 1977, reprinted 1987, p.27.
- 8 Monument to Regina in South Shields Museum, illustrated in J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Roman Britain, 2nd ed., London, 1963, Plate 85, cat. 87.
- 9 John Dart, Westminster Abbey, Vol. I, London, 1723, p.116.
- 10 Elizabetha Russell, filia eiusdem iohannis, obiit 1600, 2 Julii in cuius memoriam erecta columna cum imagine & inscriptione: Dormit non mortua est.

William Camden, Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, 1603, Sig.Giia.

- 11 I am grateful to Adam White for drawing my attention to Jean-Jacques Boissard's engraving of a possible Roman prototype.
- 12 Letter from Lord Burghley recommending Cornelius Cure as Master Mason to the Crown to Killigrew, Groom of the Privy Chamber, 26 May 1596, Cambridge University Library, Ee 3/56/94, cited by H.M. Colvin, Ed. The King's Works, III, p.101.
- 13 Cure was created Master Mason by Burghley, Pat. roll C66/1449, cited by H.M. Colvin, Ed. The King's Works, p.408.
- 14 H.M. Colvin, The King's Works, p.120, citing Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.17.
- 15 Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, London, 1977, reprinted 1987, p.26.
- 16 Violet A. Wilson, Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, London, 1922, p.219.
- 17 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., VII, pp.267-8.
- 18 H.M.C. Penshurst MSS., II, p.312.
- 19 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., VII, pp.267-8.
- 20 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XIII, p.610.
- 21 John Dart, Westmonasterium, London, Vol. I, 1723, p.116.
- 22 Henriette S'Jacob, Idealism, p.200.
- 23 Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', pp.23-34.

1.5 Person Commemorated

12. ELIZABETH COOKE (1539-1609), daughter of Sir Anthony
15 Cooke and Anne Fitzwilliam, who married 1. Sir Thomas
Hoby 2. John, Lord Russell.

Location of the memorial

High up on the wall of the great hall of Bisham Abbey,
Berkshire.

Description of the memorial

The painting is very dark and difficult to see. It is a life-size portrait of Elizabeth, Lady Russell, in full court mourning dress of a wired and shaped white lace-edged linen headdress, worn over a ruffled cap. White lace-edged pleated linen bands attached at the shoulders fall to the ground. A white figure-of-eight ruff surrounds a white pleated bodice. The black gown reveals white ruffled undersleeves. The dramatic solid masses of black and white costume of a widow are enriched against the colourful patterned turkey carpet on which the figure stands. The face is idealized, in the 'masque of youth' convention adopted for late portraits of Queen Elizabeth. The figure lays her right hand upon a velvet draped, embroidered prayer desk,

while her left hand holds an ornamented prayer book.

Inscription

In the top left hand corner of the picture is a Greek inscription:

Ἐπίρριψον ἐπὶ Κύριον τὴν μέριμνά σου.

which translates as 'Cast thy cares upon the Lord'.¹ This is a quotation from Psalm LV,22, a complaint about lack of support from one whom King David took to be his friend. The verse continues: 'he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved'. These sentiments characterize very well Lady Russell's behaviour in her law suits and appeals to her nephew, Secretary Cecil, to support her dignity.

Heraldry

There is none in the painting, but her arms may well have been incorporated into the original frame.

Dimensions

72 x 48 inches

Date of painting

From 1594 Lady Russell wrote a series of letters expressing her sense of injury and neglect.² These letters reached a high point of grievance in September 1599, when she wrote: 'I think that I go upon my last year. Some will kill me, and therefore my kingdom is not of this world'.³ This portrait is her self-righteous response to these hurts. Datable 1599 from the psychology of her situation.

Painter

Unknown, but possibly Marc Gheeraerts, on the grounds that he painted other Russell Family portraits now in Woburn, in this style.

Literature on the painting

Earl of Ilchester, 'Queen Elizabeth's visit to Blackfriars June 16 1600', Walpole Society, Vol. IX, 1920-21, p.15.

Piers Compton, The Story of Bisham Abbey, Bath, 1979, p.103.

Photographs

Piers Compton, The Story of Bisham Abbey, Bath, 1979, Frontispiece.

Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, London, 1977, reprinted 1987, Plate 3.

Commentary

In her demands upon her children and her nephew, Lady Russell made it clear that she was disappointed in their response. It was entirely in character that she should castigate her family by commissioning a portrait which showed her in widow's garb making an appeal to God for protection. She used her widowhood as a weapon in soliciting support of her demands. The content of the portrait is her unprovided estate of pious widowhood.

It was from this image of the noble widow that the patron developed her scheme for her sculptural monument, which repeats the painted details.

References and notes

- 1 I am grateful to Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel University, for translation of the Greek text, and for the identification of it as coming from Psalm LV, 22.
- 2 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XIII, p.516; IX, p.54, p.78, pp.339-340, pp.358-359, pp.359-361; XIV, p.192.
- 3 H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, p.359.

1.6 Person commemorated

16 ELIZABETH COOKE (1539-1609), daughter of Sir Anthony
to Cooke and Anne Fitzwilliam, who married
20 1. Sir Thomas Hoby, 2. John, Lord Russell.

Location of the monument

The monument is erected against the south wall of the Hoby chapel, which this patron had built in 1566. The Hoby chapel is on the south side of the church of All Saints, Bisham, Berkshire. The church frontage lies along the River Thames, up whose stream from Southwark the prepared stones of her monument must have been borne on barges, to be offloaded at the church for erection.

Description of the monument

The monument to her career and achievements which Elizabeth, Lady Russell built in her own lifetime, uses an inter-related group of figure sculptures to pay homage to the main effigy of herself. The viewer's attention is focused on the figures by having them set a little above eye level, within architecture which is reduced to an arched backdrop and a sheltering canopy supported on two pilasters and two pillars, over a tomb ledger whose base is used for a heraldic display and

epitaphs..

The canopy, borne on two marble pillars and supported against the alabaster which lines the chapel wall, divides the figures of living children outside its shelter, from the dead figures under this family temple. All the children from both marriages are set in positions of deference around their mother, who leads them in prayerful contemplation of the text open before her on the prayer desk. Her gaze falls upon an extract from the burial service in Latin, which is an affirmation of her belief in a personal resurrection. The group of sculptured figures confidently asserts the worth of the life of Elizabeth, Lady Russell. All the figures endorse the text with their prayers for her continuation in a resurrected state. The pose of kneeling, supporting figures had been within the tradition of English monumental sculpture in low and high relief since the monument to this patron's father was erected between 1576 and 1579 in Church of Edward the Confessor, Romford, London Borough of Havering. This concept of fully detached, separately carved figures in the round is new to England and draws upon the kneeling figures on the French royal tombs in St. Denis in Paris, carved by Pierre Bontemps 1556-1558, which Lady Russell could have seen in 1566. This design goes beyond the scope of the French image in developing

interaction between the figures. This depiction of the children as an integral part of the iconography as adjuncts to the main effigy, allows their developing careers and achievements to enhance further the career of their mother. The pose asserts the continuing life of the family, as it was set in train by the mother.

The figures play out a costume drama of the nobility of the family. On the left, facing her mother, is Anne, Lady Herbert, in her ermine powdered lined robes of estate and coronet as a viscountess. In the centre is the figure of Lady Russell, represented in a pleated white linen mourning hood on top of which is set a viscountess's golden coronet. She wears full court mourning of widow's bands of pleated linen, hanging from her shoulders to the ground, white ruff and stomacher on a black gown, to characterize her as a widow and Dowager. At her feet is laid the infant Francis, who is too young to kneel. Behind her are ranged her three daughters, with Elizabeth Russell dressed and coiffed as a Maid of Honour in white, and the two Hoby girls dressed in richly worked gold bonnets. Behind the daughters are ranged the two Hoby sons, costumed as knights in Greenwich armour. Costume is an important part of the imagery of the monument.

The effigies appear to be life-sized, and indeed

Margaret Whinney lists them as such.¹ In fact they are all under life-size and scaled subtly to their importance on the monument. The figure of the widow is elevated considerably above her adult daughter Elizabeth on the same register, while the diminutive stature² of Sir Thomas Posthumus is only hinted at by his coming short of Sir Edward. The statues are painted, with the heads coloured naturalistically, and the costume distinguished by its proper colour. Lady Russell is dramatised in black and white while Lady Herbert's robe is red. It continues the Elizabethan notion of bright colour masses enlivened with glittering gold as endowing the 'picture' with life.³ This basically decorative, patterned vision did not need shadowy suggestions of modelling, since the statues cast their own shadows to indicate their substance. Lady Russell may have been prepared to leave the figures unpainted, as she left the figure in the round of Elizabeth Russell in unpainted alabaster, except that she needed colour emphasis to characterize the figures.

The figures are firmly identified by costume, but they are not provided with portrait heads. All are given smooth, idealised features and fashionable hairstyles. There is a portrait at Bisham Abbey of Lady Russell (see Catalogue no. 1.6, p. 297) which must be a preparatory model for her monument since it shows her in the same

costume, beside a prayer desk, but alone.⁴ This portrait also gives the figure a smoothly idealised face. Marks of ageing have been deliberately eliminated from both painting and sculpture. This is the convention of the 'mask of youth' which was also adopted for late portraits of the Queen.

The piety of the children is directed towards continuation in another form of the life of Lady Russell, as is her reading of the text of resurrection 'with these same eyes'. In a sense, the religious imagery serves the secular aim of celebrating the deeds of Lady Russell. Secular success, related by the costume of high rank, is considerable and more important than a glance at these praying hands might suggest. The continuation of life is celebrated. Lady Russell's monument represents her and her seven children without either husband in effigy. The monument claims the family as her creation and celebrates the family as her achievement. No matter how well founded that claim, within her society in which the wife was subservient to the husband in public, the iconography of Lady Russell's monument demonstrates enormous self-esteem.

Inscriptions and their location on the monument

It is clear from her letters from 1598 that Lady Russell

was disappointed in family response to her cares. With this in mind, the inscription panels on her monument are even more revealing. There is a large panel framed by the arch on the wall, another inscription panel on the front of the prayer desk, and two on the base of the monument. They look as though they were intended to carry lengthy inscriptions, and remained blank from the erection of the monument until 1609 when, despairing of other inscription, Lady Russell herself wrote in Greek and in Latin the same short text which was inscribed in the overlarge spaces of the panels on the front of the tomb.

ΜΗ ΔΑΚΡΥΣΙΝ ΚΟΣΜΕΙ, ΜΗ ΚΛΑΥΘΜΑΣΙΝ ἘΝΤΑΞΙΑΣΜΟΝ
ΠΟΙΕΙ· Εἶμι γὰρ Ζῶσα Δι' Ἄστρα Θεῶν.

Do not adorn my grave with tears, nor make my funeral with wailing, for I am alive and making my way through the stars to God. 5

'NEMO ME LACRYMIS DECORET, NEQUE FVNERA FLETU/
FAXIT CVR VADO VIVA PER ASTRA DEO'

which repeats the same sentiment.

The text of the burial service on the open book is in Latin:

'SCIO QVOD REDEMPTOR/MEVS VIVIT ET IN NOVISSIMO DIE DE
TERRA SVRRECTORVS SVM; ET/ RVR SVM CIRCVMDABOR PELLE MEA
ET IN CARNE MEA VIDEBO DEVM./ QVEM VISVRVS SVM ET IPSE
ET OCVLI MEI CONSPECTVRI SVNT/ ET NON ALIIS, REPOSITA
EST HAEC SPES MEA IN SINU MEA.'

'I know that my redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the last day; and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh; and I myself shall behold him, not with other but with these same eyes' Job XIX, 25, 26, 27.

The memorial was deprived of epitaphs recording the ancestry, family connections, right to titles, and personal achievements of Elizabeth, Lady Russell. It is ironic that this great writer of epitaphs should be without an eulogy.

Heraldry

On her own monument Lady Russell did not abandon heraldry. She annotated her birth, two marriages, the marriage connections formed by her children, and the eminent matches of her four sisters in heraldic blazon. People referred to in heraldic form are identified by Peter Begent in The Heraldry of the Hoby Monuments, published in typescript by the Heraldry Society, 1979, pp.14-26. Heraldry is also discussed by Sir George Scharf in Russell Monuments, pp.99-103.

The monument was provided with a spiked iron railing on which are set three fretted and painted metal banners. One shows the arms of the Cooke family, with their crest on the reverse side; one shows the arms and badge of the Hoby family and one the arms and badge of the Russells.⁶

Dimensions

Height of the steps 18 1/2 inches
Height of tomb chest 25 1/2 inches
Height of monument 108 inches (9 feet)
Height of monument plus escutcheon 12 feet

Length of the monument 12 ft 9 inches
Depth of monument 43 inches

Date of erection of the monument

In September 1599, Lady Russell wrote: 'I think that I go upon my last year...Elizabeth Russell, Dowager'. ⁷ It is likely that from that time she planned her memorial, and the preparatory portrait probably dates from 1599. In 1600 she married her last child well, with obvious satisfaction. The monument as executed may have been planned in 1600 because it shows the status of her children as they were in that year and psychologically she had an incentive to celebrate the composition of the family in 1600. If she planned the existing layout on any other criteria, she risked any of the three children positioned outside the canopy having to be moved under it, in the event of their joining the category of the dead, and the design did not allocate space for that contingency. In 1603 she planned the detail of her funeral procession. ⁸ It seems likely that she planned her monument before she marshalled her funeral. I would suggest that the monument was conceived and under construction between 1600-1606. I believe that her effigy was lately provided with a coronet as Lady Russell's response to the challenge on 14 May 1606 that she was not entitled to call herself 'Dowager' because the coronet was not included in her

portrait in the same costume. The evidence on Lady Russell's activities and the visual evidence of details of costume and hair styles coincide to suggest 1600-1606 as the dates for the monument.⁹

Tomb Builder

It was not unusual for a tomb to be set up within the patron's lifetime. The greatest surviving body of evidence on monument building is in the later notebooks of Nicholas Stone,¹⁰ and they provide evidence of how precise the instructions from the patron could be.¹¹ The design is innovatory, as one would expect from the patron's previous memorials. The figures are competently carved. The architectural detail of coffered barrel vault and the treatment of touche inscription panels suggests the Cure workshop, and so I would suggest Cornelius and William Cure II as the tomb makers. This tomb was probably under construction before and during their work on Mary, Queen of Scots' monument. Attribution to the Cure workshop is confirmed by the occurrence on the paned trunk hose of the knights of exactly the same pattern as a later documented tomb by Cure for Sir Roger Aston at St. Dunstan's Church, Cranford, Middlesex, erected 1612/13.¹²

Literature on the tomb

Peter Begent, The Heraldry of the Hoby Memorials in the Parish Church of All Saints, Bisham, in the Royal County of Berkshire, published in typescript by The Heraldry Society, (London, 1979), pp.14-26.

Piers Compton, The Story of Bisham Abbey, (Bath, 1979), p.86.

Dictionary of National Biography, sub Lady Elizabeth Hoby, p.950.

Diary of Lady Hoby 1599-1605, p.14.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Berkshire, p.88.

George Scharf, Russell Monuments, pp.99-103.

Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, (London, 1977 reprinted 1987), p.26.

Earl of Ilchester, 'Queen Elizabeth's visit to Blackfriars June 1600', Walpole Society, IX, (1920-21), p.15.

Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.21.

Adam White, 'Stuart Renaissance', p.23.

Documents relating to the monument

Letter from Elizabeth, Lady Russell to Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, 1603, and his reply, printed in Joseph Edmondson, A Complete Body of Heraldry, (London, 1780), Sig. SSSS, or pp.13-14 of section 'On Funerals'.

A contract for a similar monument dated 1612/13 with the Cure workshop, printed in Gentleman's Magazine, LXX, (1800), p.104.

Photographs

Country Life Magazine, June 24, 1905, pp.906-914.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Berkshire, p.30(a).

Commentary

Lady Russell's own monument should be viewed within the context of her own earlier commissions and within the tradition of memorials erected to people who were significant to her. The towering, wall-like structures in Westminster Abbey to her husband (d.1584) and to her sister Mildred, Lady Burghley (d.1589) provided palaces in which the effigies dwelled. The small figures on her sister's monument were a subservient part of the architectural design, with each mourning figure needing its own pillared and canopied niche. For her own monument, Lady Russell scaled down the bulk of the architecture, and the design is no longer frieze like, so that from inception the design was not intended for the high crowded chapels of Westminster, but for the lower ceilinged empty spaces of the Hoby chapel. However, she could have made the structure nearly twice as high and still have got it into the Hoby chapel, so that this reduction is a statement of comparative modesty. She was claiming less deference for herself than she claimed for her husband, or which she saw paid to her sister. Nevertheless, Lady Russell's memorial is dominant in All Saints church and does claim her pre-eminence in that location.

She was willing to abandon the elaborate architectural

device partly through decorum and partly because diminutive figural sculpture in an architectural framework belonged to grandeur as defined in an outmoded style. A new vocabulary of veneration was developing at the beginning of the seventeenth century which placed much more emphasis upon the figure commemorated, and this patron had a major influence upon such imagery. Her monument to her daughter Elizabeth Russell in Westminster, erected in 1602, was the first to use this emphasis. This design of an interrelated group of figures paying homage to the main effigy, is a development of the idea of setting the effigy upright and alive for veneration.

References and notes

- 1 Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.21.
- 2 BL. Lansdowne MSS. Vol. X, f.38.
- 3 Lucy Gent, Picture and Poetry 1560-1620, (London, 1981), p.28.
- 4 Illustrated in Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth, (London, 1977, reprinted 1987), opposite p.25.
- 5 I am grateful to Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel University, for these translations.
- 6 George Scharf, The Russell Monuments, pp.99-103.
- 7 Lady Russell to Sir Robert Cecil, H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IX, pp.358-359.
- 8 Letter from Lady Russell to Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, 1603, and his reply headed 'Order for the Funeral of a Viscountess or for the Wife of an Heir to an Earl', printed in Joseph Edmondson, A Complete Body of Heraldry, (London, 1780), Sig. SSSS, pp.13-14 of Section on

Funerals.

- 9 C. W. and P. Cunningham, Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century, (London, 1954), p.177 ff. Diane de Marley, International Society for the Study of Church Monuments Symposium, 19 September 1982.
- 10 'The Note-Book and Account-Book of Nicholas Stone, Master Mason to James I and Charles I', Walpole Society, VII, (1919), pp.1-13.
- 11 Myra Rifkin, 'Burial, Funeral and Mourning Customs in England', (Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania University, Ph.D. thesis, 1977), p.98.
- 12 Gentleman's Magazine, LXX, (1800), p.104.

COMMEMORATIONS OF ELIZABETH COOKE WHICH APPEAR ON OTHER MONUMENTS

1 On the monument to her father, SIR ANTHONY COOKE
Pl. (1505-1576), in the church of St. Edward the Confessor,
20 Romford, London Borough of Havering (Essex), erected
c.1576-1579, on which her kneeling effigy appears as
Elizabeth, Lady Russell, along with those of her
sisters. She may have been a co-author of Latin and
English epitaphs to her father with her sister Mildred
for this tomb.

2 On the EAST WINDOW OF THE HOBY CHAPEL, providing a
Pl. backdrop to the altar, in the church of All Saints,
21 Bisham, Berkshire, installed in 1609 and restored in
1954. This memorial window of six tall lights of
enamelled glass displays twelve shields of arms and
badges, including the arms of Elizabeth Cooke and Sir
Thomas Hoby. The window was commissioned by Sir Edward
Hoby in the year of his mother's death. A Latin
inscription includes Sir Edward's mother in his prayer
for the peace of the souls departed.

'LAUS DEO/ PANIMAB/ PHILLIPPI E/ THOMAE/ HOBY MILITVM/
ELIZABETHAE MATRIS ET/ MARGARITAE/ UXORIS/ EDWARDI/ HOBY
MILITIS/ 1609'

(PRAISE TO GOD. PRAY FOR THE SOULS OF PHILIP AND THOMAS
HOBY KNIGHTS AND FOR THE SOULS OF ELIZABETH THE MOTHER
AND MARGARET THE WIFE OF SIR EDWARD HOBY KNIGHT 1609)

3 On the monument to the memory of FRANCIS RUSSELL, SECOND
Pl. EARL OF BEDFORD, in the Bedford chapel, church of St.
22 Michael, Chenies, Buckinghamshire. This monument was
erected in 1620 by Francis Russell, second Baron Russell
of Thornhaugh and later fourth Earl of Bedford.
Elizabeth Cooke's arms are included in Shield no. 2 and
she is mentioned in the accompanying inscription as the
wife of John, Lord Russell, second son of the second
Earl.

CATALOGUE

SECTION 2

MONUMENTS ERECTED BY THE LADY ANNE CLIFFORD (1590-1676)

2.1 Person commemorated

Pl. 23 FRANCES BOURCHIER (1586-1612), daughter of William, second Earl of Bath and Elizabeth Russell, granddaughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, cousin to the Lady Anne Clifford, who was also granddaughter to the second Earl of Bedford. Frances died on 30 August 1612, and was buried in the chapel of her maternal ancestors.

Location of the monument

Originally on the north side of the Bedford chapel, attached to the church of St. Michael's, Chenies, Buckinghamshire. The chapel was built in 1556 by Anne, first Countess of Bedford, and extended after 1824.

Description of the monument

The monument is free-standing and consists of a waist high table. A ledger of polished black marble is supported on four white marble Tuscan columns, which in turn rests on a base of black marble. There is no effigy. The black base slab has applied to it three white marble shields, carved in relief, referring to the

subject's parents and herself. Around the edge of the table top there is an identifying inscription.

Inscription

'Here lieth interred the bodye of the worthy & vertuous maide, ye Ladie Francis Bourghchier, Davghter of William Earle of Bath, by Elizabeth Russell, Davghter of Francis Russell, the second Earle of that family, who departed this life the last daie of August, Anno Dni. 1612, in the XXVIth yeare of her age. In whose memory the Ladie Anne Clifford Countisse of Dorsett, her deare Cosen, at her own costes & Charges, hath erected this monument.'

There is evidence in the variant spelling of the subject's name from the patron's usual diary references to 'Bourchier' that the inscription was not checked after it was given to the stone carver.

Heraldry

Unusually, the heraldic display is left in relief carved white marble. On the left shield are displayed the arms of her father, the Earl of Bath. The right shield shows her father's arms impaling those of her mother. The lozenge displays the arms of the Lady Frances.

Dimensions¹

Stone base slab 97 x 57 1/2 x 4 inches
Base of monument 77 3/4 x 37 x 5 1/2 inches
Ledger stone 75 x 36 x 4 inches
Overall height of monument 49 inches

Date of erection

A letter dated 20 January 1616 from Lady Anne Clifford to her mother, Dowager Countess of Cumberland, provides a date when the patron saw this monument in a completed state in the chapel:

'I was lately at Chenies, my Lord of Bedford's house, [Edward, third Earl] with my cousin Russell [Francis, later fourth Earl], to see the tomb which I have made of my own charges for my dear cousin Frances Bourchier'. ²

It seems likely that the tomb was erected during the latter part of 1615.

Tomb builder

This double-decker altar table is similar to that of the figure-decorated tomb of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612), made by King James's master carver, Maximilian Colt [anglicised form of Poutrain], who came to England from Arras in 1595. ³ The design was in execution at the time of Salisbury's death in 1612, and also uses the dramatic contrast of black and white stone to good effect. It seems likely that the simpler, non-figurative monument to Frances Bourchier was also made during the years 1612-15 by Max Colt. Max Colt's monumental commissions at this time included the tomb of Queen Elizabeth (1605-1612) ⁴, and the monuments to James I's infant daughters, the Princesses Sophia and Mary (1609) in Westminster Abbey. ⁵ As a member of the

intimate court circle in those years, Lady Anne was likely to adopt James's master sculptor as her tomb maker.

Literature on the tomb

J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.41.

Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, pp.27-28.

George Lipscomb, History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire, (London, 1847), Vol.IV, p.258.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Buckinghamshire, p.86.

George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.69-70, 154.

Document relating to the tomb

Letter from Lady Anne to her mother at Brougham Castle, Westmorland, dated 20 January 1616, printed in G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.154.

Antiquarian Drawing

A drawing of monuments on the north side of the Bedford Chapel, before the chapel was extended and some monuments rearranged, was made by J. Buckler dated 13 July 1824. ⁶ This includes Frances Bouchier's memorial.

Commentary

The Countess of Dorset's motive in acting as patron was her childhood friendship: '... died my worthy cousin german the Lady Frances Bouchier, of a burning fever, to my great grief and sorrow...Job.VII,1'. ⁷ There was nothing about the monument which boosted family pride. Because Frances died unmarried, family feeling of tenderness became dominant, in a way which had informed the memorial to Elizabeth Russell. The imagery in this

monument . is of the communion table in its stark simplicity. The nobility of Frances is indicated in the richness of the stones used. By 1612 the dramatic contrast of the unpainted black and white stones had already been established as a fashionable sepulchral theme, and the young Lady Anne followed rather than set fashion.

References and notes

- 1 I am grateful to Mrs Atkins, curator of the Bedford Chapel, for measuring the tomb.
- 2 Quoted by G. C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.154.
- 3 Lionel Cust, 'Foreign Artists', p. 76.
- 4 C.S.P.Dom., 1603-1610, p.201, when money was given to Cecil to implement the commission. Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, pp.20, 236.
- 5 C.S.P.Dom., 1603-1610, p.276. H.M. Colvin, Ed. The King's Works, III, p.120.
- 6 BL.Add. MS. 36,357, f.270. Buckler drawing.
- 7 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.41.

2.2 Person commemorated

LADY MARGARET CLIFFORD (1560-1616), youngest child of Francis, second Earl of Bedford and his first wife, Margaret St.John, widow of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, died 24 May 1616.

Location of the monument

The original Will of Lady Cumberland asked for burial beside her brother Francis in Alnwick, and Lady Anne immediately planned to build a chapel onto the parish church of Alnwick.¹ However, a codicil to the Will permitted Anne the choice of burial site, and she interred her mother in St. Lawrence's Church, Appleby, not Skipton, where the Clifford ancestral vault was located, and where the third Earl was buried. Appleby was within the Dowager's jointure lands, whilst Skipton was then held by the fourth Earl of Cumberland.

Description of the Monument

The patron had to consider what kind of monument would adequately reflect the high rank of the deceased as well as commemorate her personal qualities. She chose a free standing tomb chest, with an alabaster effigy laid on the ledger in a traditionally prayerful posture. The pose

was entirely fitting to represent the humility before God of the religious cast of mind of Lady Cumberland.

Status was recorded in the costume of the effigy. The widow's pleated hood surmounted by a metal coronet, flowed around the robe. This was draped in deeply cut bold folds, over a stomacher. The stomacher provided rhythmic contrast to the long sweep of folds by its curved frame, emphasised by the row of small buttons down the centre. Textural contrast was provided by the chiselled indentations of the sleeves. The short rhythms of the curves of the fleece of the supporter sheep counterpointed the long curves of the swathes of the robe. The face was given appropriately aged features for the Dowager, with open eyes. The hands were posed with fingers slightly apart and incised fingernails, but with no suggestion of the underlying anatomy. The effigy was distinguished by the rhythmic variety in the treatment of pattern.

The deeply cut high relief heraldic animals on shields of arms at the top and bottom of the chest received the same treatment as the wool of the sheep badge at the feet of the effigy. Incised gold inscriptions on the two sides of the chest varied well-proportioned Renaissance lettering with sweeping 'Y's. These were set between high relief alabaster standard symbols of

mortality. The range of symbols used was varied on the two sides of the chest, from shroud, skull, hourglass, scythe, pick, flighted arrow, spade, thigh bones, draped coffin, clasped book, burning taper and clock. They were suspended from volutes at the end of relief-modelled straps on the bath-shaped sides of the sarcophagus.

There are no flakes of paint in even the deepest recesses to suggest that the monument has ever been painted. The alabaster and black touche tomb ledger and inscription panels provided the fashionable Jacobean sepulchral colour.

Inscriptions

On the north side of the tomb chest:

'Who faythe, love, mercy, noble constancie/
To God, to Virtue, to distress, to ring/
Observ'd, exprest, shewd, held religiouslie/
Hath here this monument thou seest in sight/
The cover of her earthly part, but passenger/
Know heaven and fame contayne the best of her.'

On the south side of the tomb chest:

'Here lyeth interred the body of the Lady Margaret/
Countess Dowager of Cumberland youngeste childe to
Fran/
cis Russel second Earl of Bedford, marryed to
George/
Clifford third Earl of Cumberland, she lived his/
wife XXIX/
yeares, and dyed his wydowe at Brougham Castle the/
XXIIIIth of May/

MDCXVI tenn yeaes and seaven months after his,
decea/
se. She had issue by him two sons, Francis and
Robert who/
both died younge, and one daughter the Lady Anne
Clifford/
married to Richard Sackville third/
Earl of Dorsett/
who in memory of her religious mother erected this
monument Ao. Dni. MDCXVII' [1617]

Heraldry

On the west side, the supporters of wyvern and lion were carved in deep relief and painted red. The shield of arms which they supported referred to Lady Cumberland's marriage and was painted in its proper colours. On the east side her lozenge was crowned and also painted. The heraldry does not dominate the memorial.

Dimensions

Base 80 x 38 inches
Black marble tomb ledger 85 x 42 inches
Chest 64 x 23 inches
Black inset inscription panel 41 x 17 1/2 inches
Effigy including supporter sheep 72 x 24 inches
Height of effigy to fingertips 20 inches
Total height to fingertips 63 inches.

Date of erection

Commissioned in early June 1616, the epitaph on the south side of the chest reveals that it was set up in 1617.

Tomb builder

The treatment here of the symbols of death occurred again high on the superstructure of Queen Elizabeth's tomb, and also on the monuments to the infant princesses, in Westminster Abbey. This repetition indicates Colt as the tomb builder. The deep cutting, the widely spaced, long curving sweeps of folds and the characterful elderly face suggest Max Colt (fl.1600-1641), whose workshop was in Bartholomew Close, Farringdon.

Literature on the tomb

Dictionary of National Biography, sub Margaret Clifford (1560-1616), p.68.

Country Life Magazine, Vol. 87, (August 1940), p.412.

Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.32.

J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.43.

Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, pp.62, 117.

John Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, being inscriptions on the Monuments of several Eminent Persons Deceased in or since the year 1600 to the end of the year 1649, (London, 1719), p.52.

Wallace Notestein, Four worthies, p.125.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Cumberland and Westmorland, pp.30,217.

T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, p.343.

George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.408-410.

Genuine Roman folds were held together on the shoulder by a circular pin. The bunched cloth on Daniel's shoulder was a convention of English 'classical' drapery. It is shown very clearly in Inigo Jones' drawing of a negro nymph for Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Blackness' of 1605, and in another drawing by Inigo Jones for Samuel Daniel's own masque 'Tethys Festival' at Whitehall on 5 June 1610.¹

The black and white theme favoured by the patron leaves the bust uncoloured. The scheme makes its effect by setting black architectural features against white, and since the black areas are black painted alabaster, as on the back plate to the low garland, these contrasts were deliberately contrived by the tomb maker.

Inscription

Inscribed in faded gold:

'Here lyes expectinge the second/
coming of our Lord & Saviour Iesus/
Christ, ye Dead body of Samiell Danyell Esq. that/
Excellent Poet & Historian/
who was Tutor to the Lady/
Anne Clifford in her youth. She/
that was sole Daughter & Heire to George Clifford
Earle of/
Cuberland who in gratitude to him/
erected this Monument/
in his Memory a long time/
after when she was Countesse/
Dowager of Pembroke & Dorsett/
& of Montgomery. He dyed/
in October 1619'

2.3 Person commemorated

le. EDMUND SPENSER (1552-1599), Poet Laureate.
26

Location of the monument

In the east aisle on the south wall, south transept (now known as Poets' Corner) of Westminster Abbey, London.

Description of the monument

This monument is small and set against the wall. It takes the shape of a triangular pediment over an inscription panel, framed by garlanded scrolls. This is set over a further rectangular inscription panel. It is of an unelaborated plainness, with colour restricted to black lettering incised on white marble.

Inscriptions

'Heare lyes (expecting the second/
comminge of our Saviour Christ/
Iesus) the body of Edmond Spencer/
the Prince of Poets in his tyme/
whose divine spirrit needs noe/
othir witnesse then the works/
which he left behinde him./
He was borne in London in/
the yeare 1553 and died in the yeare/
1598' [The dates are inaccurate]

The lower inscription panel now carries the date of

restoration, 1778.

Heraldry

There is none.

Dimensions

Width at base of inscription 65 inches
Width at base of scrolls 46 inches
Height from base to apex of inscription 44 inches
Height from floor to base of inscription 55 inches.

Date of erection

In May 1619 the Countess of Dorset visited the Abbey and 'stayed to see the tombs'.¹ It was probably this second recorded contemplation of the monuments in Westminster which determined her to commemorate Spenser. It was erected in 1620.

Tomb builder

The design was Nicholas Stone's (1588-1647). His notebook records it. 'I allso made a monement for Mr Spencer the pouett, and set i. up at Westminster, for which the Contes of Dorsett payed me 40l'.² Nicholas Stone's workshop produced many wall monuments of this type. In commissioning Stone, Lady Anne was patronising a recently fashionable stone carver, who later was

appointed Master Mason to the Crown [1632].

Literature on the tomb

William Camden, Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, (1600), Sig.Iiia., with hand-painted shield of arms.

John Dart, Westmonasterium, I, (London, 1723), pp.75-76.

Dictionary of National Biography, sub Edmund Spenser, pp.393-394.

David Piper, The Image of the Poet, (Oxford, 1982), p.12.

Nikolaus Pevsner, revised Bridget Cherry, London, I, p.444.

A.L.N. Russell, Westminster Abbey, (London, 1946), p.22.

George Vertue, 'Vertue Notebooks, V', Walpole Society, Vol.XXVI, (1938), p.79.

Documents

The Notebook and Account Book of Nicholas Stone, printed in Walpole Society, (VII, 1919), p.54.

Photograph

Westminster Abbey Official Guide, (1971), p.41.

Engraving

John Dart, Westmonasterium, I, (London, 1723), opposite p.75.

Commentary

This commission was distinctly unusual, at a time when other patrons aimed to record the deeds and rank of their families. This monument has nothing whatever to do with social status. The Elizabethan poet Spenser died in poverty, but he was honoured with burial in

Westminster, and his funeral was attended by 'a memorable gathering of his contemporaries, probably including Shakespeare'.³ Spenser was thus the first person to be buried in this shrine of national honour on his merits as a poet. His grave was next to Chaucer's who had been admitted as an official of the court.

Latin inscriptions to Spenser were recorded before Lady Anne paid her tribute, and the inference is that these were inscribed on the original grave slab over Spenser's burial place.

TU PROPE CHAUCERUM, SPENSERE, POETA POETAM/
CONDERIS, ET VERSU QUAM TUMULO PROPIOR

Next to Chaucer liest thou, O Spenser, a poet next to a poet, yet closer to him in thy verse than thou art in thy grave

Camden recorded in Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et alij....sepulti, (London, 1600), Sig.Iiia, the following, as being on Spenser's tomb:

EDMUNDUS SPENSER, LONDINENSIS, ANGLICORUM/
POETARUM NOSTRI SECULI FACILE PRINCEPS, QUOD/
EIUS POEMATA FAVENTIBUS MUSIS ET VICTURO GENIO/
CONSCRIPTA COMPROBANT/
OBIIT IMMATURA MORTE ANNO SALUTIS 1598 ET PROPE/
GALFREDUM CHAUCERUM CONDITUR QUI FAELICISSIME POESIN/
ANGLICUS LITERIS PRIMUS ILLUSTRAVIT.

In quem haec scripta sunt Epitaphia:

HIC PROPE CHAUCERUM SITUS EST SPENSERIUS, ILLI/
PROXIMUS INGENIO, PROXIMUS UT TUMULO/

HIC PROPE CHAUCERUM SPENSERE POETA POETAM/
CONDERIS, ET VERSU, QUAM TUMULO PROPIOR/
ANGLICA TE VIVO VIXIT, PLAUSITQUE POESIS/
NUNC MORITURA TIMET, TE MORIENTE, MORI.

Edmund Spenser of London, easily the first of English

poets of our time, as his poems attest with their inspiration and undying spirit. Died an untimely death in the year of our salvation 1598 and is buried next to Geoffrey Chaucer, who first in English letters shone forth so felicitously. English poetry lived while thou wert alive: now with thy death, she too fears her own. Next to Chaucer liest thou, O Spenser, a poet next to a poet, yet closer to him in thy verse than thou art in thy grave. ⁴

The sentiments of the Latin inscriptions and of the patron who later set up the Stone monument, were that Spenser's poetry ranked with Chaucer's as fine English writing. Lady Anne saw his probable inscribed gravestone, and commissioned the monument to provide Spenser with commemoration equal to the already old monument which Nicholas Bingham set up to Chaucer in 1555, replacing Chaucer's original lead plate with an epitaph by Surigionius of Milan. ⁵ Lady Anne linked these two poets in her inscription (now lost), as she linked them in her gratitude for lifting her spirits and solacing her solitude with their literary works.

Her monument was made of 'coarse marble' ⁶ and had deteriorated badly when it was replaced by an exact copy of the design in durable marble, paid for by subscription raised at Cambridge by the poet William Mason ⁷ in 1778, according to the present lower inscription panel. It was Lady Anne's habit to record her part in everything which she erected, or rebuilt, and so it is likely that her name was included on the original inscription. ⁸

References and notes

- 1 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.102.
- 2 'The Notebook and Account Book of Nicholas Stone',
Ed. W.L. Spiers, Walpole Society VII, (1919), p.54.
- 3 Official Guide to Westminster Abbey, (1971), p.41.
- 4 I am grateful to Charles Rudd, Librarian, Brunel
University, for Latin translations.
- 5 David Piper, The Image of the Poet, (Oxford, 1982),
pp.78-79.
- 6 John Dart, Westmonasterium, I, (London, 1723),
p.75.
- 7 Dictionary of National Biography, sub Edmund
Spenser, p.394. George Vertue, 'Vertue Notebooks
I', Walpole Society, VII, (1919), p.54, citing
Westminster Abbey Chapter Book (now lost).
- 8 Vertue raises the question of whether Lady Mary,
Countess of Dorset, erected a monument to Michael
Drayton, who died in 1631, "as she did that of
Spenser just by it" ('Vertue Note Books, V',
Walpole Society, XXVI, (1938), p.79), but Lady Anne
Clifford was Countess of Dorset when Stone entered
the commission in his Note Book, and remained
Countess of Dorset for a further four years.

2.4 Person commemorated

¹² SAMUEL DANIEL (1562-1619), Poet Laureate and historian,
²⁷ Master of the Queen's Revels, who died in 1619.

Location of the monument

St. George's Church, Beckington, Somerset, hung high on the wall, between two windows, which makes photography difficult.

Description of the monument

The monument takes the form of a panel framed by volutes entwined with garlands, in the same idiom as those on Spenser's tomb in Westminster Abbey. Above the inscription panel is a curved broken pediment, whose mouldings recede in three stages. Into this is set the pedestal for a Roman bust of Daniel, crowned with a laurel filet, and wearing a draped and pinned toga. The Carolean head with its carved beard, moustache and long hair, sits strangely on the classical costume. There is an indication of a seventeenth century collar at the neck. The effect is as though he were wearing Roman costume of crown and toga on top of his usual attire!

Genuine Roman folds were held together on the shoulder by a circular pin. The bunched cloth on Daniel's shoulder was a convention of English 'classical' drapery. It is shown very clearly in Inigo Jones' drawing of a negro nymph for Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Blackness' of 1605, and in another drawing by Inigo Jones for Samuel Daniel's own masque 'Tethys Festival' at Whitehall on 5 June 1610.¹

The black and white theme favoured by the patron leaves the bust uncoloured. The scheme makes its effect by setting black architectural features against white, and since the black areas are black painted alabaster, as on the back plate to the low garland, these contrasts were deliberately contrived by the tomb maker.

Inscription

Inscribed in faded gold:

'Here lyes expectinge the second/
coming of our Lord & Saviour Iesus/
Christ, ye Dead body of Samiell Danyell Esq. that/
Excellent Poet & Historian/
who was Tutor to the Lady/
Anne Clifford in her youth. She/
that was sole Daughter & Heire to George Clifford
Earle of/
Cuberland who in gratitude to him/
erected this Monument/
in his Memory a long time/
after when she was Countesse/
Dowager of Pembroke & Dorsett/
& of Montgomery. He dyed/
in October 1619'

Heraldry

There is none, as befits his station in life.

Dimensions

50 3/8 inches by 67 inches.

Date of erection

It seems likely that Lady Anne would think of commissioning a monument to Daniel in response to news of his death in 1619, when she was commissioning her monument to Spenser. The inscription claims that it was put up long after his death by the Countess Dowager of Pembroke. However, the inscription reads as if the carver was responsible for describing the patron, unchecked by her, as frequently seemed to be the case, and it is likely that the inscription intended to convey her status as Countess Dowager of Dorset, and Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery. The inscription to the Great Memorial Picture of 1646 suggested her involvement before that date with his monument, and she did not become Countess Dowager of Pembroke until 1650, which seems too late for this monument. 1631 is the most likely date for erection of this monument, while Lady Anne was resident in London.

Tomb builder

The English classical treatment of the bust and the English classical composition of the architecture

suggest that the monument was the work of Edward Marshall (1598-1675), who had worked under Nicholas Stone. Marshall had an immense output in the black and white idiom.

Literature on the tomb

Dictionary of National Biography, sub Samuel Daniel, p.479.

Nikolaus Pevsner, North Somerset and Bristol, p.142.

John Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, 1600-1649, London, 1719, p.73.

Charles J. Phillips, The Sackville Family, I, pp.261, 277.

Margaret Whinney, Sculpture, p.33.

Photograph

Nikolaus Pevsner, North Somerset and Bristol, p.44(b).

Commentary

The patron acknowledged the direction of her mother in 'seasoning her youth with the grounds of true religion and moral virtue and all other qualities befitting her birth...in which she employed as her chief agent Mr Samuel Daniel, that religious and honest poet'.² Daniel combined honesty with cynicism at his fate in teaching children.³ He wrote in Musophilus in satirical vein in 1599:

'Where will you [you mighty Lords] have your/
virtuous names safe laid?/
In gorgeous tombs, in sacred cells secure?/
Do you not see those prostrate heaps [of stone]

betrayed/
Your fathers' bones, and could not keep them sure?/
And will you trust deceitful stones fair laid,/
And think they will be to your honour truer?

No, no, unsparing time will proudly send/
A warrant unto wrath that with one frown/
Will all these mock'ries of vainglory rend,/
And make them as before, ungraced, unknown,/
Poor idle honours that can ill defend/
Your memories, that cannot keep their own.'

The patron, and the patron's mother, credited Daniel with imparting to Anne 'qualities befitting her birth', but the above extract shows his morose view of monuments erected to pretensions to fame. It is ironic that the patron's monument to his teaching survives, while his work is generally unknown.

References and notes

- 1 Drawings at Chatsworth House, printed in Walpole Society, XII, (1924), as Plate I and Plate V.
- 2 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.28.
- 3 Dictionary of National Biography, p.476-7. 1601 Samuel Daniel to Sir Thomas Egerton. R. T. Spence, 'A Reappraisal', p.45.

2.5 Persons commemorated

^{Pl.}₂₈ THE GREAT MEMORIAL PICTURE seeks to show the justice of Lady Anne's succession to Clifford estates. The centre panel shows her father, her mother, and two elder brothers who died. She is present in this family picture in embryo. The left panel shows Anne with her tutor and governess at the time of her father's death. The right panel shows Lady Anne at the age of fifty-six with portraits of her two dead husbands, at the time of her inheritance of estates in Westmorland and Craven.

Location of the memorial

In Appleby Castle, Westmorland (now Cumbria).

Description of the painting

The portraits, with the exception of the newly made one of the middle aged patron, were worked up from already existing portraits of the subjects. Lady Anne was quite specific about the source of her images. Of the centre panel, she wrote: 'the eight pictures contayned in this frame are copies drawne out of the Originall Pictures of these Hon'ble Personages, made by them about the beginning of June 1589...when these Originalls were drawne, did George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, with

his worthy wife and their two sonnes, lie in Philip Wharton's House, in Channel Row in Westminster, where the said worthy Countess conceyved with child, the 1st of May, Anno D'ni 1589, with hir onely daughter the Lady Anne Clifford...she afterwards being the onely child of hir Parents...Ps.139'. ¹

The figures of George, Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560-1616), Francis, Lord Clifford (1584-1589) and Robert, Lord Clifford (1585-1591), stand on a pavement. This is not the documented backdrop of Lord Wharton's house in Westminster, nor even the patron's current environment of Baynard's Castle, but a constructed fictive background, which provides walls on which are hung richly gilded framed busts of her father's two sisters, Frances, Baroness Wharton (1556-1592) and Margaret, Countess of Derby (1540-1596); and her mother's two sisters, Anne, Countess of Warwick (1548-1604), and Elizabeth, Countess of Bath (1558-1605). It is interesting that the brothers of both parents have been omitted from this portrait commissioned by a woman and an heiress. This was probably done not for sexist reasons, but to exclude Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, with whom Lady Anne contested the inheritance.

In this picture, Lady Cumberland is characterized as the mother of the children, whom she indicates. Her interests are annotated by a shelf of three books in folio editions, the Bible, the Works of Seneca in Thomas Lodge's 1614 translation, and a manuscript of distillations and alchemy, her medical textbook (which was in Skipton Castle muniment room in 1922). Lady Margaret holds the Psalms in her left hand. George Clifford is characterized by his star patterned armour for the tiltyard, which was in the possession of Lady Anne when this figure was painted, and by the Order of the Garter. He carries a sword. Earl George's arm is interlinked with his wife's, as though the patron wanted to minimise their separate lives.

The left wing presents Anne at the age of fifteen, surrounded by the objects associated with her youth. On a table, by which she stands, are an hour glass, a piece of embroidery, an open music book and, propped against the table, a viola da gamba. Beside and on shelves above her, neatly labelled, in ordered piles, are the books which represent the range of her studies. On the floor to the left are:

William Camden's Britannia, ed. 1578 or 1600 or 1607
Abraham Ortelius' Maps of ye whole World, trs. M. Coignet, 1603 8vo ed.
Cornelius Agrippa, The Vanity of the Arts and Sciences, trs. J. Sandford, 1575, 4to
Cervantes' Don Quixote, 1612, 4to ed. trs. Shelton.

Against these books lies a pair of dividers. On the two shelves supported by iron brackets are more books. Standing on the lower shelf are:

Three volumes of Peter de la Primaudaye's French Academy, Bishop's ed. of 1589 or 1602
Castiglione's Book of the Courtier, trs. Thomas Hoby, ed. 1561 4to [note this is a book translated by the subject of the first monument in this study].

Laid flat on the lower shelf are:

Godfrey de Boloigne, Caxton's 1481 folio ed.
Loys de Roy, The Variety of Things, trs. R. Ashley, 1594
Samuel Daniel's Chronicle of England, 1612 and 1617
Montaigne's Essays, trs. John Florio, 1603 or 1613, folio ed.
Gerard's Herbal, 1633 ed.

On the upper shelf, laid on their sides, are:

Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, folio ed. 1593-1598
Edmund Spenser's Works, folio ed. 1609 or 1611
Ovid's Metamorfices, [sic], Sandy's trs. of 1626 or 1632 or, possibly, Golding's trs. in black letter of 1565 (Sandys was godson to her father, and so is more likely).

Standing upright four folio editions of:

The Bible
St. Augustine's City of God, trs. J. Healy, 1610 and 1620, dedicated to Lord Pembroke
Eusebius' History of the Church, Hammer's trs. 1577 or 1619 folio
Dr J Hall's Works, eds. in 1621, 1628, 1634, probably represents the 1621 folio edition.

On top of these books, on their sides are:-

Epictetus, Manual, trs. J. Healey, 1616, 12mo
Boetius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, 1556
Samuel Daniel's All the works in verse.

A further three books laid on the upper shelf on their sides are:

Downham's Christian Warfare, 1612 or 1634 4to
Du Bartos' Divine Works, trs. J. Sylvester, 1611 4to
Geoffrey Chaucer's Complete Works, Bishop's ed. of 1602

or possibly Stowe's ed. of 1561 in black letter, folio.² From information on the dates of publication of the editions represented, not all of these books were available in 1605 when she was fifteen. Nevertheless, these books are intended to represent her 1605 range of reading.

Hung on the wall above the books are plainly framed, ungilded, portraits of her tutor, Samuel Daniel (1563-1619) and her governess, Mistress Anne Taylour.

The right wing portrait, painted from life in 1646, shows the disillusioned face of the woman who had fought to maintain her Clifford identity. This figure is provided with an environment of the gilded framed portraits of Dorset and Pembroke, Pembroke wearing the Garter ribbon, and her pet cat and greyhound. A jumbled disarray of books may be intended to represent her frequent, casual use of them.

Under her ringed hand are:

Pierre Charron's Book of Wisdom, trs. out of French, S. Lennard, 1615, 4to
The Holy Bible

on the lower shelf above her head are:

George Storde's Book of Death (Anatomy of Mortality), 1618, 4to
Plutarch's Lives, ed. 1603, 1612, 1631
Plutarch's Three Moral Treatises, ed. 1580, 8vo
George Hakiwell, An Apology for the Providence and Power of God, 1627, folio
Francesco Guicciardini's French History, trs. G. Fenton, 1579 or 1599
Sir Henry Wotton's Booke of Architecture, 4to (in the Library of Appleby Castle in 1922).

On the upper shelf are:

George Sandys' trs. of the Psalms, 1636, 8vo in verse
 Philippe de Comignes' History, in English 1596 and 1614,
 folio
 More's Map of Mortality
 Ben Jonson's Works, 1616, folio
 Donne's Poems, 1633, 4to and 12mo
 Cuffe's Ages of Man's Life, 1607 and 1633 12mo
 George Herbert's Poems, 1633 or 2 or 1633, 12mo
 John Barclay's Argenis, trs. K. Long, 1625, folio
 Casaubon's trs. Meditations of Antonius, 1635, 4to
 William Austin's Meditations, 1635, folio
 Donne's Sermons
 King's Sermons, 1609, folio
 Philimon Holland's Ammianus Marcellinus, trs. into
 English 1609 as Roman History.

The tone of her reading has darkened with the passage of
 time. The unsmiling, stoic gaze is of one accustomed to
 contemplating mortality. She must have felt that her
 inheritance had come to her too late in life.

Inscriptions

Lady Anne drew up inscriptions, assisted by Sir Matthew
 Hale (1609-1676), antiquarian and Lord Chief Justice of
 the King's Bench, in 1646, and the Manuscript is now in
 Appleby Castle. They are incorporated into painted
 banners or papers within the triptych and also painted
 in borders around it. There is a curious incorporation
 of comment upon the painted figures into the pictorial
 representation of them, which denies the pictorial
 illusion of reality. Amongst other details of her
 mother's identity, the inscription claims that the
 Russell women were 'three sisters of the greatest
 renown, for honour and goodness, of any three sisters

that lived in theire tyme in this kingdome'.

The left wing annotates Daniel's portrait with 'Tutour to this Young Lady a man of an upright and excellent spirit as appeared by his Workes was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1563. He dyed at Redge [his farm] in the Parish of Beckington in Somerset, about the 9th of October in the yeare 1619 and lyeth buried in the chancell of the sayd Church, leaving no issue'. Her knowledge of his burial place in the church suggests she had previously erected her monument to him in Beckington.

The lengthy inscriptions are printed in T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, pp.339-353, and also in George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.489-507.

Heraldry

There are painted borders of thirty-four coats down both edges of the centre panel, and each of these has an accompanying inscription, telling of the descent of the Cliffords from the reign of King John down to the marriages of Lady Anne's two daughters by the Earl of Dorset.

Dimensions

Excluding the frame 8 feet 4 inches x 3 feet 10 inches +
8 feet 6 inches + 3 feet 10 inches

Frame is 5 inches

Date of erection

Lady Anne came into her inheritance in 1643 while she was mewed up by civil war in Baynard's Castle, London. She commissioned this monument then and the portraits were 'thus finished by the appointment of Ann Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in memorial of them in Anno d'ni 1646'.

Portrait painter

Attributed to Jan van Belkamp (fl.1624-1652, d.1653), by Walpole (cited by G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.336), a painter in the Anglo-Flemish tradition, who had earlier painted a room full of portraits of famous people for Knole, and whose work was therefore known to Lady Anne.

Literature on the picture

Abbott Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Quarto, XIV, No. 3,

(October 1976).

T.D.Whitaker, History of Craven, pp.339-353, 351.

George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.334-345.

Photograph

Country Life Magazine, LXXXVII (1940), p.409.

Surviving Portraits related to or copied from possible sources for the Memorial

Lady Anne aged c. fifteen: oval 27 x 23 inches, inscribed with her name and arms in a lozenge: artist unknown: portrait no. 21 in Exhibition in 1976 at Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal. This was the original of many engravings and therefore a candidate for her image of her youth.

George Clifford: Portrait by Nicholas Hilliard 10 1/8 x 7 inches, c.1590: negative no. 2673: in National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

George Clifford: canvas 29 7/8 x 24 inches, after Nicholas Hilliard c. 1590: nineteenth century copy Catalogue no. 277 in National Portrait Gallery, London.

George Clifford wearing star armour: after Hilliard, c.1590: watercolour 7 1/2 x 4 7/8 inches: by George Perfect Harding (1781-1853).

Margaret Clifford: Portrait on panel 21 1/4 x 17 inches: 1585: artist unknown: negative no. 415 in National Portrait Gallery, London. A copy of this portrait was at Gorhambury, and engravings were made of it, making it a favourite image of Lady Margaret.

Philip Herbert: Portrait 50 x 39 7/8 inches c.1635-40: Studio of Van Dyck: catalogue no. 450 in Royal Academy Exhibition 1953-54, London: negative no. 354/579 Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Commentary

Lady Anne's detailed painted genealogy shows her pride of ancient ancestry and her concern to record her personal history. In drawing up her genealogy, she was establishing her high place in the social hierarchy. 'Genuine genealogy was cultivated by the older gentry to reassure themselves of their innate superiority over the upstarts....A lengthy pedigree was a useful weapon in the...battle for status'. ³

A copy of the triptych was made for Skipton Castle, but it had deteriorated by 1835, when G.P. Harding made watercolour copies of it, ⁴ and it has now disappeared.

Attempts have been made by me to trace the portraits which were used in the compilation of The Great Memorial Picture. The archives of the National Portrait Gallery produced possible sources for the heads of Lady Anne's parents, but the picture which she described, including the Lords Clifford, has disappeared. Marc Gheeraerts is a candidate for the original of the head of the young Lady Anne. ⁵ Larkin and Vansomer both painted portraits of Dorset at Knole. The Vansomer is a possible model for the head of the Earl of Dorset. Van Dyck painted Pembroke several times, and he seems a likely source for the picture of her second husband. Identifying

miniatures or larger portraits from which the composite picture was painted was made more difficult by the early seventeenth century habit of making and distributing multiple copies of portraits, both at the time of painting and later, both by the same painter and by copyists.

It is interesting that the dress worn by the fifty-six year old heiress should be in a fashion which echoed her black and white coloured funeral monuments. It does not represent mourning attire, because Pembroke was alive when it was painted. The treatment of the lighting of the heavy folds of silk on arms and skirt is much more realistic than the smooth, featureless fall of folds on the skirts in the centre panel. This seems to mark the difference between clothes which were modelled for the painter and those which were copied from a picture. The costume of the left panel may be a dress which Lady Anne wore when she came out of mourning for her mother, of 'sea water green satin',⁶ and which she may have preserved. The tablecloth in each wing has gold embroidery and fringes of the same pattern, and was probably painted from an actual cloth in Baynard's Castle, although the painter has given the two ends different colours to key in different moods for her youth and maturity. The painter has concentrated on representing the different rich textures of cloth to

convey the status of the figures. The figures are rendered in clearly defined outlines which are not affected by the fall of light, and placed in interiors whose space is uneasily defined. There is no attempt at volumetric definition of objects and the use of perspective is unsure. It is a style which continued the flat, linear, Anglo-Flemish tradition of portraiture.

The triptych, and especially the right panel, provides unique pictorial documentation on Lady Anne's view of herself in 1646. Only she could have dictated the careful content which described her perception of herself. The patron must have felt that the right panel represented her successfully, because she subsequently had several, perhaps several dozen, portraits made which were based on this representation of her.

References and notes

- 1 T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, p.345.
- 2 George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp. 334-345.
- 3 Ibid., p.337.
- 4 Lawrence Stone, Crisis, p.23.
- 5 Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Quarto, XIV, no. 3 (October 1976), p.4.
- 6 Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, p.107.

2.6 Person commemorated

¹²₃₀ LADY ANNE CLIFFORD (1590-1676), daughter of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland and Lady Margaret Russell, his wife. She married 1. Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset 2. Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Location of the medallion

In the Medal Department of the British Museum.

Description of the medallion

The medal is of heavy silver with deep relief carving of the three quarters left facing head and shoulders of Lady Anne on the obverse side. It is the same image of her features as the right wing of the triptych. Her hair curls the same way under her head cloth. The gauzy deep collar is folded to reveal the same double row of lace edging. Two brooches on the medal are different from the Great Memorial Picture, but they appear in a head and shoulders portrait at Appleby Castle, dated 1670, which, in turn, derives from the memorial painting. The reverse side has the relief carving of a female figure draped in billowing folds of cloth. Attributes of Bible, Crown and Cross reveal this figure

to be Faith triumphant.

Inscriptions

On the obverse side: 'ANN.COUNT.OF.DORSETT PEMB & MOVNTG
&C'

On the reverse side: '+ SOLE:DAVGHTER.& HEIRE.TO
GEORGE.EARLE OF.CUMBERLAND.'

Dimensions

The British Museum medallion is 1.6 inches diameter

Date

If, as seems likely, it was commissioned as a gift to impress the recipient with her piety, it was likely to have been made at the same time as her major works of charity, c. 1651-1655.

Medallist

Unknown

Literature

George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books, II', Walpole Society, XX, (1932), p.73. The medallion was described as being in the possession of the Earl of Oxford.

A different version of this medallion is described in Med. Hist., XXXIV, p.567, in silver gilt, with remaining evidence of a ring for suspension. Perhaps this edition was intended as a gift to the two mothers of her almshouses.

Commentary

There is now no means of knowing how many of these silver medals were produced, or how many editions in different metals. She would give them to people whom she wished to impress with her constancy of purpose over the inheritance dispute, who could be expected to keep and perhaps wear them as a sign of loyalty to her. Such people might be her compliant tenants, her clergy, her household officers, the mothers of her almshouses, her grandchildren. They were given as marks of the Dowager Countess's favour.

2.7 Person commemorated

LADY MARGARET CLIFFORD (1560-1616), youngest daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford and his first wife, Margaret St.John, widow of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, died 24 May 1616. This monument is known as THE COUNTESS'S PILLAR, BROUGHAM.

Location of the monument

Beside the [A66] road from Brougham to London, a quarter mile from Brougham Castle, on a grassy mound overlooking the highway.

Description of the monument

The Countess's Pillar takes the same general shape as many market crosses in the border between England and Scotland. Indeed, there were two in the broad market street of Appleby during Lady Anne's residence there. The pillar shaft is octagonal stone, rising to a cubic capital. The north face shows, towards the road, two coats of arms for the marriages of her parents and an ancestral marriage between Roger Clifford and Idonea Veteripont of 1269. Both coats are crowned by coronets. Under the arms are a skull and date 1654. The other three faces, to the east, west and south, display sundials, calibrated to show time as the sun moves from

east to west around the pillar, no doubt marking the passage of time with continuing commemoration, as well as being of practical use to the traveller. The capital is protected by a pyramidal roof, topped by a decorative finial. High iron railings surround the monument.

Inscription

Set into the south face showing time anticlockwise from six a.m. to six p.m. is an inscription recording the purpose of the monument.

'This Pillar was erected Anno 1656/
By ye.R.Hono^{ble} Anne.Countess.Dowager of/
Pembroke &c daughter & sole heire of ye R^t/
Hono^{ble} George.Earl of Cumberland &c for a/
Memorial.of.her.last.parting.in.this place/
with.her.good.&.pious. mother.ye.R^t Hono^{ble}/
Margaret.Countes.Dowa^r.of.Cumberland/
ye.2^d.of.April.1616. In.memory.whereof/
she.also.left.an.annuity.of.four.pounds/
To.be.distributed.to.ye poor.within.this/
Parrish.of.Brougham.every.2^d.day.of.April/
for ever.vpon ye stone.table.here.hard.by.

LAVS DEO'

Heraldry

Two coloured shields of arms, one of Clifford impaling

Russell and the other of Clifford impaling Veteripont, both surmounted by coronets, span three hundred and thirty-six years from the first male Clifford to the last, by Lady Anne's reckoning, excluding the Clifford fourth and fifth Earls of Cumberland.


Dimensions

16 feet 3 inches high, 3 feet wide.

Date of erection

The Pillar was set up in January 1654, during the patron's first visit to Brougham Castle since she was there to oversee her mother's funeral in 1616.¹ The later date of 1656 on the inscription presumably records when that metal tablet was affixed to the monument, and when the commemorative charity was first dispensed from the table at the base of the pillar.

Builder

The mason was Jonathan Gledhill, whose mason's mark is on the pillar.² Gledhill was a mason paid for substantial amounts of hewn stone at Brough Castle in receipted accounts for 29 November 1665² receipted with his mark .

Literature on the memorial

Dictionary of National Biography, sub Lady Anne Clifford, pp.56-57.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Cumberland and Westmorland, p.236.

Royal Commission on Historical Monument England, Westmorland, (1936), p.62.

R.T. Spence, 'A Reappraisal, p.49.

Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, p.157.

Doris Mary Stenton, The English Woman in History, (London, 1957), p.72.

George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.388-389.

Commentary

The pillar is a uniquely intimate memorial erected on the spot where the patron parted with her mother on 2nd April 1616. The form of the column was traditional, in keeping with rebuilding work on castles undertaken at the same period. As part of her thanksgiving to God for her mother's aid and advice, Lady Anne set up a charity to be disbursed on the anniversary of their parting. It is still distributed on that spot, in symbolic form, on the anniversary by the Vicar of the Parish of Brougham.

References and notes

- 1 J. P. Gilson, Lives, p.66.
- 2 Jonathan Gledhill was a local man, who married in 1663 in Brough under Stainmore. Blake Tyson, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, LXXVIII, Kendal, (1988), p.245.
I am grateful to Sally Rutherford, wife of the Vicar of Brougham, for this reference.

2.8 Person commemorated

33, 34
As. GEORGE CLIFFORD (1558-1605), third Earl of Cumberland.

Location of the monument

Lady Anne seems to have intended her father's tomb to pair the existing monument to Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland (d.22 April 1542), because she has set her father's opposite it on the south side of the communion table within the elevated sanctuary. Her monument to her father was set up over the Clifford vault, under the archway between pier and pillar, in Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, Yorkshire.

Description of the monument

George Clifford's monument is an updated interpretation of the similar monument to the first Earl, with larger, more emphatic heraldic claims made on its sides and headboard. The form is a rectangular chest, which has been plastered and painted white and so is presumably made of local stone of no particular beauty or not sufficiently white. The black and white theme pursued by the patron in her earlier monuments was implemented here by the contrast of the high gloss polished black

marble cover of the tomb ledger, possibly obtained from Derbyshire. This contrast was important to the patron, because the slab was purchased separately from the other costs of the tomb.¹

The low carved relief border at the lower edge of the chest used variants on a circle and semicircle along the two sides. They have no significance within sepulchral iconography, and seem to come from the decorative repertory of a local builder.

In imitating the tomb of the first Earl, the patron could be expected to use the sides of the tomb chest for a modest heraldic display of the third Earl's achievements. Lady Anne's treatment of heraldry has far exceeded the decorous claims of the first Earl. She has covered the sides and bottom of the chest from upper border to lower border with continuous rows of fourteen shields of arms which are much larger than those on the earlier tomb. The shields are robust and quite unlike any other presentation of heraldry within this study. The shields are distinctive in their bold low relief modelling of heraldic animals and emblems. They are not the usual flat fields for coats of arms, but are shaped to come to a point in the centre of the boss, as a real shield would. These have been made by a stone carver who knew what a protective shield looked like. The

boldness of treatment of the heraldry provides the main aesthetic impact of the scheme, and proclaims the high importance of the subject's ancestry. Similarly, the treatment of the three crowned shields affixed to the headboard describes high nobility. The tomb was originally enclosed within iron railings.

Inscription

An inscription in engraved gold lettering was affixed to the pier behind the monument, within the iron railings which once enclosed it, but is now missing.

'Here lyes expecting the second comming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus/
Christ, the body of George Clifford, third Earle of Cumberland, of that/
family, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, who, by right of/
inheritance from a long continued descent of ancestors, was Lord Veteripont,/
Baron Clifford, Westmerland and Vescie, Lord of the honour of Skipton in/
Craven, & hereditary High Shireffe of Westmerland, and was the last heire/
male of the Cliffords that rightfully enjoyed those ancient lands of/
inheritance in Westmerland and in Craven, with the baronies/
and honours appertaininge to them;/
for he left but one legitimate childe behinde him, his daughter and sole heyre/
the Lady Anne Clifford, now Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett and/
Montgomerie, who, in memory of her father, erected this monument in 1654/
This noble George Earle of Cumberlande was borne in Brougham Castle, in/
Westmerland, the eighth day of August, in the yeare 1558, and died/
penitently, in the dutchy house by the Savoy, att

London, the 30th day of/
 October, 1605, was buried in the vault here the 13th day
 of March following/
 He was the 17th of his blood hereditary High Shiriffe of
 Westmerland and/
 13th of his blood that was Lord of the Honor of Skipton
 in Craven, & was
 one of the noblest personages of England in his tyme,
 havinge undertaken/
 many sea voyages at his own charge, for ye good and
 honor of his countrey./
 He marryed the blessed and virtuous lady the Lady
 Margaret Russell,/
 youngest daughter to Francis Russell, second Earle of
 Bedford of that/
 name, by whome he had two sonnes that dyed younge in his
 life-tyme, & one onely daughter, above/
 named, that lived to bee his heire;/
 which Lady Margaret his wife (then Countess Dowager of
 Cumberland), dyed in/
 Brougham Castle, the 24th day of May, 1616, and lyes
 buried in Appleby Church' 2

The inscription does not match the parish register on
 the date of burial. The Earl of Cumberland died on
 29/30 October 1605. His body was embalmed and,
 according to the parish register, it was 'honorably
 buried at Skipton on 29 December',³ with the funeral
 held on 13 March 1606, as claimed on the inscription.
 To confirm the date of his death there is a letter from
 Sir Edward Hoby dated 19 November 1605.⁴ The Skipton
 register provides further confirmation:

'October 29 departed this lyf George Earle of
 Cumberland, lord Clifforde, Vipounte, and Vessie, lord
 of the honor of Skipton, in Craven, knyght of the most
 noble Order of the Garter, one of his highness privie
 counsell, lord Warden of the citie of Carlell and the
 West Marches, and was honorably buried at Skipton the
 XXIX of December and his funerale was solemnised the
 XIIIith day of March next then following'.⁵

Heraldry .

The seventeen heraldic shields were fashioned from alabaster and painted in their proper colours. One shield on the right side of the headboard, within the Garter, describes the marriage of the patron's parents. The other shields describe the descent of the third Earl. The heraldry is identified in T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, p.435 and in G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.406.

Dimensions

90 1/2 long x 45 wide x 42 high inches.

Date of erection

The patron formally commissioned the tomb on 9 October 1654,⁶ and later recorded the building of it. 'This summer also [1655]...some part of the church iself ...repaired, with a tomb to be erected and set up in it in memory of my noble father (finished Anno Dni. 1655) Eccles. III; Ps. CXVI, 12,13,14,15'⁷. The building of the tomb was associated with her repairs to the church. The tomb was set up in 1655.

Tomb builder

A contract exists drawn up on behalf of Lady Anne Clifford by her official and the tomb maker, John Ellis, of Skipton. Ellis was paid £3.10s for making the seventeen coats of arms and £20 for finishing the tomb, exclusive of the cost of the 'Great marble stone' tomb ledger, which he shaped and polished. He also painted the heraldry and the iron railings enclosing the monument. ⁸

Literature on the tomb

J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.71.

Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, pp.156-157.

Wallace Notestein, Four Worthies, p.142.

Nikolaus Pevsner, West Riding of Yorkshire, p.486.

T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, pp. 355, 429, 435.

George C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, pp.404-5, 406, 407, 408, 413.

Documents

Agreement between Lady Anne's officer and John Ellis, Stone Cutter, dated 9 October 1654:

'Agreed with John Ellis this day & yeare above for and on the behalfe of the R.H. ye Countesse Dowager of Pembroke &c, That for Three pounds Tenne Shillings, to be payd him at the finishinge of the Worke, He shall fashion the 17 Coates of Armes, and cement them wth Alablaster, upon the Tombe at Skipton, made by him for her Hono. father George Earle of Cumberland; and sett upp the blacke marble stone wt the Inscription, and well and sufficiently putt into Oyle Colours the Iron Grate, about the sayd Tombe. And so finish and compleat all the sayd Tombe, at his owne Costs & charges, savinge the Tombestone, wch is to be the cover therof. John Ellis'

Agreement between Lady Anne's officer and John Ellis,
dated 29 December 1654:

'An Agreement between ye R.H. Anne, Count. Dowager of
Pembroke - & John Ellis, Stone-Cutter of Skipton, for
the finishinge of a Tombe in Skipton Church for her
noble father George Ea. of Cumberland.

That her honour shall at her Costs & Charges, cause to
bee brought to the Place, the Great Marble Stone, for ye
cover of ye sayd Tombe.

That the sd. Jo., Ellis, shall cutt, polish and glase
the sayde marble stone; and place the same upon the
sayd Tombe; as itt ought to bee

That he shall putt into Alablaster Colours all the Coats
of Armes, about the sayd Tombe, & afterwards well &
sufficiently paynt and gild them

That he shall putt in Oyle Colourse, and paynt the Iron
Grates, about the sayd Tombe

fully and wholly finish and compleat the same
for wch the R.H. Countess is to pay him Twenty Pounds
(First) Tenne Pounds, upon the sayd Worke shall be halfe
finished. And the remayninge Tenne Pounds, att the
finishing & erecting.

signature of official
signed John Ellis

Also inserted between the words 'stone' and 'and' above
is the following: 'dress or crest the same, suitable to
the xxxx[crossed out] worke'

Accounts paid by successive Earls of Thanet for cleaning
the tomb, one paid to Hd. Thompson, Sexton, dated 17
Dec. 1828. 9

Commentary

In erecting a tomb, at last, to her father, the patron
was honouring him as the source of her own ancient noble
lineage. By erecting a monument similar to that of the
first Earl on the north side of the sanctuary, Lady Anne
included the earlier one in her intention of showing her
ancestry. In imitating the shape of the earlier tomb,
she nevertheless kept to her black and white theme by

painting the stone an emphatic white, which provided a dramatic foil for the blaze of heraldry which is perhaps more impressive on this tomb than on any other in England, both for the claims it made and for Ellis's bold treatment of the shields. The inscription provides the patron's latter day view of her father. It is her perception of him in relation to her mother and herself which is recorded. It is not how the third Earl would have described himself, omitting his honours at the court of Queen Elizabeth and King James, his membership of King James's Privy Council, and scant mention of his seafaring exploits. This bias in the inscription underlines the patron's purpose in commissioning the monument, as authenticating her claim to her inheritance. For this important commission, Lady Anne used a local Skipton stone carver, as was her habit during her period of residence in the north. Prolonged search in estate and parish records has failed to reveal more of John Ellis, as also has search amongst masons employed at York Minster, and in genealogical records for Yorkshire. 'Ellis' or a variant of that name, was too common in mid-seventeenth century Yorkshire to connect this Ellis with any recorded marriage or death.

References and notes

- 1 Agreements between Lady Anne's official and John Ellis, deposited by H.T. Fattorini of Skipton

Castle with Yorkshire Archaeological Society,
Leeds, Skipton MSS. DD 121/109.

- 2 T.D. Whitaker, History of Craven, p.435.
- 3 Ibid., p.355.
- 4 Letter from Sir Edward Hoby commenting on the death
of the Earl of Cumberland quoted by G.C.
Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.408.
- 5 Skipton Parish Register, quoted by T.D. Whitaker,
History of Craven, p.355.
- 6 Agreement dated 9 October 1654.
- 7 J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.71.
- 8 Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Skipton MSS. DD
121/109.
- 9 Ibid. I am grateful to Dr. R.T. Spence for drawing
my attention to these documents.

2.9 Person commemorated

Pls. ³⁵₃₆ LADY ANNE CLIFFORD (1590-1676), daughter of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland and his wife Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford. She married 1. Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset 2. Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Location of the monument

Placed against the north wall of the chapel which Lady Anne built over her vault, extending the north east side of the chancel of St. Lawrence's Church, Appleby, Westmorland (now Cumbria). She had already, in 1617, erected a monument to her mother in this church.

Description of the monument

It is an altar tomb in the patron's favourite black and white sepulchral scheme, with a polished black marble tomb ledger. At the back of the tomb chest, affixed to the wall, is a panel carrying twenty-four heraldic shields, within an architectural frame. The black panel onto which are fixed the relief carved shields, is framed by white squared columns, with a capital of squared black, topped by a broken architrave and curved

pediment in white, with a broken forward centre section. As though supporting the pediment, there are black squared columns set in front of the white uprights. These taper elegantly from white base to white capital. The mouldings breaking forward about half an inch on the pediment, broken architrave, capitals and tomb chest, maintain a highly sophisticated interplay of white against black in the assembly of architectural elements. The scheme draws upon the classicism of seventeenth century English Renaissance architecture.

Inscription

The patron prepared the inscriptions herself, anticipating her own decease before the death of her daughters. In the event, her younger daughter pre-deceased her.

In seventeenth century lettering:

'Here lyes expectinge ye second cominge of our Lord &/
Saviouor Iesus Christ/
ye dead body of ye Lady Anne Clifford daughter & sole
heire to George Clifford/
3 Earle of Cumberland by his blessed wife Margaret
Russell Countess of Cumberland/
wch Lady Anne was borne in Skipton Castle in Craven ye
30th of Ianuary (being Fry/
day) in ye yeare 1590 as ye yeare begins on New Yeare's
Day & by a longe continued/
descent from her Father & his Noble Auncestors she was
Barronesse Clifford/
Westmerland & Vescy High Sherifesse of ye County of
Westmerland & Lady of ye Honor of/

Skipton in Craven aforesaid. She married for her first
Husband Richard Sackville Earl/
of Dorsett & for her second Husband Phillip Herbert Earl
of Pembroke &/
Mountgomery leavinge behinde her onely 2 daughters that
lived wch she had/
by her First Husband ye eldest Margaret Countess of
Thannett and/
the younger Isabella Countesse of Northampton

[end of Lady Anne's inscription]

Which Lady Anne Clifford Countess Dowager of Pembroke,
Dorsett and Mountgo/
mery deceased at her Castle of Brougham, the 22nd day of
March in ye yeare of our Lord 1675/
Christianly, willingly, and quietly, Having before her
Death seene/
a plentiful issue by her two Daughters of thirteen
Grandchildren/
and her body lyes buried in this Vaulte.'

Heraldry

The twenty-four shields of arms provide flat fields for
the relief carving of heraldic animals and insignia, the
latter ten supporting earls' coronets carved in relief.
They are coloured. The heraldry chronicles the patron's
lineage from Robert de Veteripont, to whom King John
gave lands in Westmorland and the honour of Sheriffwick
of the County, through ancestral marriages, down to her
own shield flanked by those of her two husbands, with
shields on either side denoting the marriages of her two
daughters. In addition to the shields are gold-painted
incised names identifying the marriage partners whose
arms are displayed. The shields are smaller and less
boastful than those on Earl George's tomb, but the array
of twenty-four states great pride in noble descent, as

she specifically says in her inscription. The heraldry omits the fourth and fifth Earls of Cumberland, Lady Anne's uncle and cousin, with whom she disputed the inheritance.

Dimensions

Base 78 x 39 inches
Tomb ledger 76 x 36 inches
Tomb chest 71 x 35 inches
Inscription panel 44 x 20 inches
Reredos 84 x 65 inches
Shields 7 x 6 inches
Shields with crowns 9 1/2 x 6 inches.

Date of erection

As at Skipton, the erection of the tomb was associated with Lady Anne's repairs to the church, started 'about the 10th day of this March in this year 1655'.¹ There is no surviving contract for this tomb to date the commission, but it was probably implemented with ongoing work on the church. The tomb was completed in 1657. 'And this summer while I lay in my house or castle of Skipton in Craven, about this time was the tomb quite finished which I caused to be erected and set up for myself in the north east corner of Appleby church here in Westmoreland, over the vault there which by my directions had been made in 1655...Ps.CXXIII'.²

Tomb builder

The elegant moulding is reminiscent of Nicholas Stone's workshop, so that this is possibly a design by John, son of Nicholas. The Stone account books would certainly have recorded so important a commission, but those extant cease short of this date, in 1642. More probably, it is the work of a local stonemason who had learned the classical idiom of English architecture. Bishop Rainbow eulogised Lady Anne for her employment of local men, and this tomb may be an example of such local skill.

Literature

J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.78.

Martin Holmes, Proud Northern Lady, pp.15, 157, 166-167.

John Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, p.168.

Nikolaus Pevsner, Cumberland and Westmorland, p.217.

Doris Mary Stenton, The English Woman in History, (London, 1957), p.73.

Whitaker, History of Craven, p.

Adam White, 'The Sculpture of Nicholas Stone', (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, M.A. thesis, 1979), pp.24-25.

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Document

Will of Lady Anne Clifford, 1 May, 1674, Pendragon

Castle, proved at Doctors Commons, 3 April 1676, printed in Appendix V, G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, p.465.

Photograph

Doris Mary Stenton, The English Woman in History, Plate III, opposite p.64.

Commentary

Lady Anne's happiest memories were of showing her grandchildren her domains in good order. Her monument was her statement of what she passed on to 'her posterity'. It celebrated her achievement of preserving her inheritance and passing it on enhanced by her activities. Houlbrooke has noted that 'to be a scion of an ancient family, especially its senior living representative, was a matter of great pride. The bearer of an illustrious name often felt a special solidarity with dead ancestors and descendants yet unborn'.³

These sentiments are fully confirmed in this heraldic roll call of the ancestors who had owned the land, and the daughters to whom it should pass. The patron was motivated by pride of ancestry to commemorate her position in this family.

The final five lines of the inscription, added after her death, acknowledge the patron's purpose of passing on

her inheritance, in its phrase, 'having before her Death seene a plentifull issue by her two Daughters of thirteen Grandchildren'.

There is no effigy on the tomb ledger. Her effigy in death was no more important to her than her black serge clad body in life had been.

Her tomb and vault were prepared twenty-one years before her death, so that her provision of a monument did not imply her desire for a sumptuous funeral ceremony. Her Will asked for burial without pomp.

'And as for my body, I desire that itt may be buried decently, and with as little charge as may be, being sensible of the folly and vanity of superflousse pomps and solemnities'.⁴

Lady Anne was responding to a trend towards simpler interment, which she had already practised on the occasion of her mother's burial in 1616. This was defined in 1631 by John Weever, as:

'Funerals in any expensive way here with us are now accounted but a fruitlesse vanitie, insomuch that almost all the ceremoniall rites of obsequies heretofore used are altogether laid aside; for we see daily that noblemen...are either silently buried in the night time, with a torch, a two-pence linke, and a lanaterne; or parsimoniously interred in the day-time by the help of some ignorant country-painter [of heraldry] without the atendance of any of the officers of armes'.⁵

The reason for abandonment of ceremony was partly

financial, and partly the influence of simpler forms of religion. The crowds which attended Lady Anne's funeral at mid-day 14 April 1676, did so spontaneously. They were not official mourners marshalled by the heralds. The three hours' sermon to which they submitted by Edward Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, was an indication of how much preaching they could tolerate, and also their willingness to listen to a lengthy eulogy of Lady Anne.

References and notes

- 1 J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.70.
- 2 Ibid., p.78.
- 3 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, The English Family, p.40.
- 4 Will of Lady Anne Clifford, 1 May 1674, Pendragon Castle, proved at Doctors Commons, 3 April 1676, printed in G.C. Williamson, Lady Anne Clifford, Appendix V, p.465.
- 5 John Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments, p.17.

2.10 Person commemorated

pl. 37 GABRIEL VINCENT (d.12 February 1665/1666), steward and gentleman of the horse to the Countess Dowager of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, who died in the great keep of her castle of Brough, Cumbria.

Location of the monument

On the floor at the foot of the steps to the sanctuary in St.Michael's Brough, Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria.

Description of the monument

It is a rectangular stone slab inscribed with Roman lettering which takes up all the space of the slab, with two scrolls filling short lines. Like the generality of the patron's monuments, she includes her name and titles in the inscription.

Inscription

Here lyeth/
Gabriel Vincent/
Gent steward/
to the Lady/
Anne Clifford/
Covntess Dow/
ager of Pem/
brooke, Dorsett/
and Montgomery/
And chief/
Director of/
Her buildings/
in the north/
who dyed in/
the Roman/
Tower of/
Brough Castle/
like a good/
Christian the/
12 of February/
1665 & 1666/
Looking for/
the second/
comminge of/
our Saviour/
Jesus Christ.

Heraldry

None, as fitted his station in life.

Dimensions

5 feet x 2 feet 3 inches

Date of erection

Lady Anne left Brough at the end of March 1666 so that the monument must have been commissioned soon after the death of Vincent in February, and probably installed on the floor of the church by the end of March 1666.

Tomb builder

The lettering on the stone slab which aims to occupy all the space available is similar in style to the plaques which recorded repairs to churches, castles and the completion of almshouses. It was probably undertaken by a mason whom Vincent himself had set to work on these tasks for Lady Anne.

Literature on the tomb

J. P. Gilson, Lives, pp.82, 78, 121.

Commentary

Gabriel Vincent had been in charge of her building in the north since April 1657. He seems to have maintained a pace of completion of buildings which satisfied Lady Anne. Her record of his activities makes it clear that he built 'by my directions'.¹ That is, he organised the teams of masons and carpenters who worked, sometimes simultaneously, on Lady Anne's different building sites. She determined the style. She felt constrained by her financial resources in her choice of materials², unlike builders among the courtiers in the south who ran up enormous debts to finance their building projects.

The patron wrote of Vincent as one of her officers and gave him a memorial which was appropriate to his modest rank in society. However, the fact that she commemorated him in stone showed her friendly feelings and respect for her 'Director of buildings'.

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1 J.P. Gilson, Lives, p.147. .

2 Ibid., p.78.

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4120, f.77	Sir T. P. Hoby inviting Sir A. Bacon to his wedding 8 Aug 1596
18,764, ff.1-2	Bill of transportation costs
36,294, f.49(b)	W. Camden epicedium on John, Lord Russell
36,357, f.270	J. Buckler drawing of Bedford Chapel 1824 with different tomb positions
38,823, f.48	Sir E. Hoby epicedium on John, Lord Russell 1584
40,629, ff.75-77	Arn. Oldsworth recommending Cure as tombmaker to Sir Charles Morison
41,140, f.127	N. Bacon writing about Lady Russell's fertility

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2148, ff.183-184	Exhortation unto death of Lord Russell by Dean of St. Paul's 1584
2148, f.184	William Andrewsporter on death of Lord Russell 1584
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